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THE LIFE

OF

GENERAL ZIETEN,

COLONEL OF THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN REGIMENT OF HUSSAR-LIFEGUARDS, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF THE BLACK EAGLE, ETC.

BY MADAME DE BLUMENTHAL,

FIRST LADY OF THE BEDCHAMBER TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DOWAGER-PRINCESS HENRY OF PRUSSIA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY THE REV. B. BERESFORD, P. D.

VOL. II.

269

"HOW SLEEP THE BRAVE, WHO SINK TO REST
"BY ALL THEIR COUNTRY'S WISHES BLEST!
"WHEN SPRING WITH DEWY FINGERS COLD,
"RETURNS TO DECK THEIR HALLOW'D MOULD,
"SHE THERE SHALL DRESS A SWEETER SOD,
"THAN FANCY'S FEET HAVE EVER TROD.
"BY FAIRY HANDS THEIR KNELL IS RUNG,
"BY FORMS UNSEEN THEIR DIRGE IS SUNG;
"THERE HONOUR COMES, A PILGRIM GRAY,
"TO BLESS THE TURF THAT WRAPS THEIR CLAY,
"AND FREEDOM SHALL AWHILE REPAIR,
"TO DWELL A WEEPING HERMIT THERE!

COLLINS".

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EXPLA-

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE REPRESENTING THE RETREAT OF SORAW.

(See page 174 of this volume.)

A. The Prussian camp.

B. March of the Austrians, in three columns.

C. First attack made by the Austrian cavalry, which gives the alarm to the advanced-posts. Lieutenant-general de Zieten sends back the baggage, under the escort of the regiment of Rebentisch, and follows with the rest of the corps.

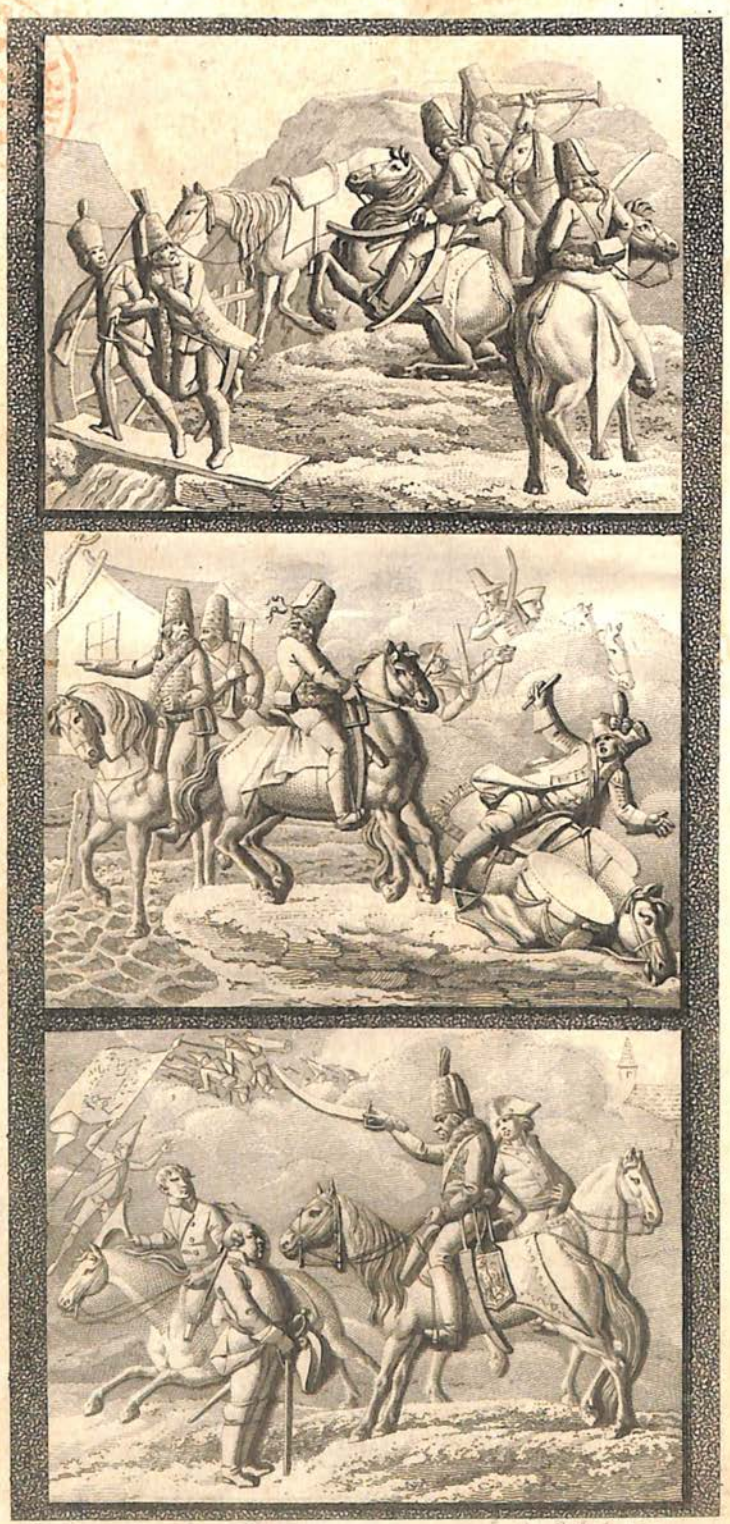
D.

D. The position of the Prussian advanced-guard to oppose the enemy I. who press it closely.

D E F. The battalion of Beverling forming into a square, to cover the pass of the Buschmühle.

G. March of the Prussians to the forest of Segan.

H. Cannonading of the Austrians.



THE

LIFE OF DE ZIETEN

THE interminable war which threatened the Prussian empire with devastation and ruin, and in which, notwithstanding the apparent doubtfulness of its issue, Frederick was inevitably involved, began in the month of August, 1756; a short time after his reconciliation with Zieten.

The enemies of Prussia, having entered into secret alliances, had already meditated its destruction. The recovery of Silesia, in favour

of the house of Austria, was not the sole object of the league; their aim was to palsy a political body which the creative genius of its sovereign had indued with such energy as to excite perpetual jealousy and alarm.

Frederick endeavoured to elude the danger with which he was menaced by striking the first blow. He collected an army, and before the powers of Europe were at all aware of his intentions, he entered Saxony; occupied the city of Dresden, and blocked up the camp of Pirna; he then marched with a body of choice troops into Bohemia; beat marshal Brown at Lowositz; made a whole army prisoners of war; * and finally established his winter-quarters in Saxony.

While these events were succeeding each other with astonishing rapidity, the Prussian generals, engaged in the blockade of Pirna, had recourse to such measures as were necessary for

* At Pirna, the 14th of October.

for the purpose of cutting off communications; and Zieten was of the number of those who were employed in that task.

With the first battalion of his regiment, he had joined the column under the command of duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, while the second had reinforced the column which the king headed in person. The prince's first rendezvous was at Halle, and Aschersleben; from whence Zieten had, on the 29th of August, led three battalions and ten squadrons through Weissenfels, Zeiz, and Altenbourg, as far as Freybourg, the second place of rendezvous. After this, being charged with the command of the advanced-guard, he continually preceded the army till the duke formed his camp between Cotta and Dohna, opposite to Pirna. The other columns which arrived at the same time had taken those advantageous positions which decided the fate of Saxony.

Upon the dislocation of the army, Zieten was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia. He had

six battalions and twenty squadrons under his command. His winter-quarters were not disturbed, and he availed himself of that interval of quiet to exercise his troops, and to familiarize them anew with the dangers and toils of war.

At the opening of the ensuing campaign, the king, after having concentrated the cantonments, distributed his army into three different bodies; that in which Zieten served was commanded by prince Maurice of Dessau, who after several feint movements for the purpose of distracting the attention of the enemy, penetrated into Bohemia over the Bassberg; and having marched through Commotaw and Brix, joined the king at Linnai. *

Zieten commanded the advanced-guard of the prince: he had likewise the command of that of the king with a more considerable body of men. On his arrival at Linnai, he was

* On the 21st of April, 1758.

was invested with the order of the black eagle.

After having collected all his columns, the king began to march, and advanced towards Prague with all possible expedition. The army of count Brown lay before him, and several formidable detachments hovered about his flanks. Zieten was chosen to clear the route and remove every obstacle; and he acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of the king.

It would be superfluous to make a journal of this march, and to enter into the detail of each assault. Not a day passed without an encounter, a victory, and the acquisition of prisoners. The general took possession of the magazines of Martinowes, Commotiz, and Budin. On a reconnoitring-party at Wellwarn, his regiment had the honour to have the king at their head. Count Brown having broke up his camp in order to fall back upon Prague, Zieten made an attack upon his rear guard, and took three hundred prisoners.

During

During this march, and in every encounter that attended it, Zieten was accompanied by a pupil of distinguished ardour and enterprise. This was the famous Seidlitz, at that time a colonel in a regiment of cuirassiers, with which he had obtained the king's permission to join the advanced-guard, in order to form himself in that school. The pupil did great credit to his master, and the king had no occasion to regret his having given consent to this military novelty.

Events of higher importance were soon to succeed the foregoing transactions.

The king's army arrived on the banks of the Muldaw to operate a junction with that under the command of marshal de Schwerin. The pontons were laid, and the troops had already begun to pass the river; * when the king received the disagreeable information, that the marshal would not be at the place of rendezvous

* At Sela.

dezvous before the following day. This disappointment rendered his situation extremely critical. In face of an hostile army of superiour force, encamped under the cannon of Prague, and who, had they been duly apprized by their scouts, might have charged the Prussians with their cavalry on the bank of the river; he had nevertheless the art to conceal his embarrassment from the greater part of his generals. He had courage enough to brave the danger, and address sufficient to triumph over it.

Zieten was one of the small number of those to whom he imparted the secret, and of whom he made use to execute his plan, and to secure its success. Although he did not find the succour he had expected on the other side of the Muldaw, he refrained from giving any interruption to the passage of the troops; but in order to remain undiscovered as long as possible, he caused them to file over a single bridge; a measure which considerably retarded the march. As fast as they arrived on the other side, they encamped in the

the most silent manner between Trachirn and Czisnitz. Zieten was charged to cover the formation of this hasty camp, to guard the avenues to it, and to prevent any thing from transpiring which might betray the arrival of the Prussians and render them liable to a surprise.

It cannot be decided whether it was to mere chance, or to the prudence of his general, that the king was indebted for the happy issue of this critical night. All that we are able to say is, that the enemy availed themselves of none of the advantages which their position might have afforded them; a circumstance either owing to their not being prepared to make an attack, or to the precautions Zieten had taken to prevent any deserter from carrying them an account of the king's embarrassment. The passage of the river and the formation of the camp could not, however, be wholly unknown to the Austrians, as from this camp their left wing was distinctly observed.

In the mean while count de Schwerin continued marching during the whole night, and his junction with the king took place on the 6th of May, at five o' clock in the morning. At the same time, and in consequence of a similar operation, the armies of prince Charles and marshal Brown effected a junction under the command of the former. The king was apprized that, besides these two corps, a third, commanded by marshal Daun, was in full march, and had been reinforced on the route by that of Serbelloni and several others. This news decided the part he had to act: there was no time to be lost; the union of all these forces would have given the enemy a superiority which it would have been vain to resist.

On the 6th of May, immediately upon the arrival of Schwerin, the king fought the famous battle of Prague, and gained a victory at the expense of slaughtered thousands.

After having reconnoitred the enemy's camp with marshal Schwerin, and finding it advantageous-

tageously situated upon the heights, and covered by swampy ground, he made the following disposition.

With the left wing, which the marshal commanded, that general was directed to attack and turn the right wing of the imperialists; their left wing being inaccessible. The king was to lead on the centre. His right wing, without acting on the offensive, was ordered to support the left. Zieten had the command of the corps of reserve, composed of ten squadrons of dragoons and twenty of hussars. He was enjoined to make no movement, unless on the express order of his majesty.

The king considered his plan as infallible: Zieten, however, was less sanguine in his expectations, and took his precautions accordingly. He was sensible of the difficulties arising from the ground on which the left wing had to manœuvre; he knew that the marshal had two dikes to pass before he could form his line, and, that during its formation, his flanks would lie uncovered. The danger appeared so immi-

imminent that he could not allow himself to remain an inactive spectator; and after many struggles with himself, after having duly considered both sides of the question and compared the orders of the king with the exigency of the moment, he determined upon quitting his post, yet without leaving it in a defenceless condition; and having intrusted general de Werner with the command of the corps of reserve, he took with him ten squadrons of dragoons, and stationed them along the dikes at the entrance of the defiles, wherever they might serve to cover the march of the infantry. Having made this disposition, he moved forward to assist at the attack.

What Zieten had apprehended and foreseen now took place. The marshy and broken ground, equally advantageous to the enemy as disfavourable to the Prussians, changed the attack into a flight. The heights before them, the swamps on their flanks, and the defiles and dikes in their rear, alike contributed to hem them in; and both cavalry and infantry seemed to be on the verge of destruction.

Zieten

Zieten immediately returned to the dikes, where he had posted his dragoons in defence of the outlets; and sent word to general de Werner to join him instantly, and to lengthen his line as much as possible in order to awe the enemy. Without this reinforcement the left wing could not have been saved. The cavalry had charged several times, and had even broken that of the enemy; but after having lost the brave prince of Schönaich, who was at their head, and being repulsed, turned, and put to flight, they uncovered the flank of the infantry, and left it intirely without defence. The honour of repairing this disaster was reserved for Zieten.

The Prussian infantry, who had been engaged in the pursuit of the hostile grenadiers, retreated in great disorder towards the dike of Dubatsch; and the cavalry being closely pressed by the enemy, took the road to the dike of Untermichelop. In vain the generals and all the officers endeavoured to stop the fugitives. Zieten, however, at length was able to check the infantry by drawing out a party of

of his dragoons in their way; and, accompanied by the rest, he threw himself before the last-mentioned dike at the instant in which the routed cavalry arrived there.

This moment proved a decisive one. He not only prevented the fugitives from passing the dike; he was even able to rally, and inspire them with new courage. He addressed them in a calm and resolute manner, exhorted them to follow his advice, to form themselves in a line on either side of the dike; and after resting themselves a while till a reinforcement should arrive, to return to the charge and vanquish the enemy. He concluded with promising them a certain victory.

With extreme difficulty he prevailed on them to listen to his advice. A panic terror had seized upon the cavalry; and in spite of the representations of Zieten and the efforts of his dragoons, they were on the point of forcing a passage. General de Wobersnow, aide-de-camp to the king, who arrived on the spot during these transactions, recommended violent

violent measures, advised Zieten to stop the fugitives by force, and to cut down some of them by way of example. Zieten, whom experience had taught to preserve his temper on the most trying occasions, begged to be allowed to proceed in his own way, and urged the expediency of waiting the arrival of succour. He promised with apparent confidence what he could only feebly hope for; as it was possible that the king might have given general de Werner orders different from those which he himself had issued.

In the mean while, a long cloud of dust began to arise; and, drawing near, soon exhibited a party of hussars hastening to the relief of their comrades.

Zieten pointed to them at a distance, increased their number in order to hearten his troops, and made his disposition while they were advancing. Upon the dike he placed alternately his dragoons and the hussars M. de Werner had just joined him with; and behind them, he collected and formed the routed cavalry

valry to compose, in their turn, the corps of reserve and cover the attack.

After having formed the two lines, Zieten called the generals and principal officers about him, and addressed them in these terms.

"Gentlemen! The defeat of our comrades is a very disastrous event. Be it our task to repair the mischief, and secure a victory. To this end I shall have recourse to the following disposition."

"As soon as the fugitives are rallied behind us, general de Werner, who commands the left, will fall upon the enemy's right, and turn it. With the right wing I shall myself attack the cavalry that are in pursuit of our men. I shall rout them, make good my way to the infantry, and take the battery on the right. The rest of the cavalry will follow, one regiment after another, at equal intervals, and support us. As soon as we are in motion, the drums with beat the march."

After

After having pronounced these words in a loud and resolute tone of voice, he drew his sabre, and putting himself at the head of the troops, cried out, "March!" and ordering the trumpets to sound a charge, he cast his eyes along the whole line, and marked the ardour which glowed in the countenance of every soldier.

Fortune proved favourable to courage. With a handful of men, general de Warnery kept Haddick, the Austrian general, in awe, and hindered him from moving from the right and taking the Prussians in flank. The rest of the hostile cavalry had disbanded in pursuit of the Prussians: they acted without concert, and fell into disorder at the sight of the fresh troops who were advancing upon them; and who appeared more numerous and more formidable than they were in fact, on account of the clouds of dust in which they were enveloped. The Austrians now turned their backs and endeavoured to rally and form their broken regiments; but Zieten did not give them time to effect their purpose; he broke their ranks, put them

them to flight, and pursued them briskly. The first he came up to, was a regiment of cuirassiers: their commander cried out to the hussars, at the distance of fifty paces; "What! Are you all mad? Don't you see you are going to charge a regiment of the line?" The hussars made no reply; but falling upon them, they quickly overcame, and dispersed them. They overtook all the rest, whom they treated in like manner; and the dragoons of Schmettau supported the hussars of Zieten so effectually, that in this quarter the victory of the Prussians seemed complete. They performed prodigies of valour, carried away colours, standards; braved the fire of the batteries, and reduced them to silence.

While victory was declaring in favour of the Prussians; and the very regiments, who had at first turned their backs to the enemy, overwhelmed with shame and burning with emulation, were coming back to the charge to recover their lost honour; general de Werner, after having turned the Austrians and joined M. de Warnery, had in concert with

him fallen upon general de Haddick, and driven him upon the infantry of the right wing. The infantry gave way, the rout became general; Zieten cut the enemy off from Prague, and the victors took possession of the camp of the conquered.

While the well-timed application of the corps of reserve and the prompt and masterly manœuvres of Zieten were securing success, the Prussian infantry were likewise acquitting themselves in the most brilliant manner. The colours, with which the immortal Schwerin had thrown himself into the midst of the enemy, had inspired his troops with resistless ardour. Thousands of arms were lifted up to avenge his death; and the heaps of slain bore ample testimony to the efficacy of their strokes. Zieten covered their flank, and turned that of the enemy; and, in the mean while, the infantry pressing forward, took possession of the field of battle.

Of the exploits which signalized the right wing and the centre, and the names of the heroes

heroes of the day, we shall say nothing, as it does not immediately belong to our subject. History has celebrated those of Schwerin, Henry, Ferdinand, Bevern: the like justice is due to others, and among that number is Zieten.

The laurels acquired by the Prussians were dearly won. The number of killed and wounded, on either side, amounted to twenty-five thousand. * In the midst of his triumphs, Frederick bewailed the death of his brave soldiers, and especially that of Schwerin. ** The Austrians testified the like regret for the loss of marshal Brown, who had been mortally wounded in the battle.

The prince of Lorrain threw himself into Prague with forty thousand of the routed ar-

** my.

* In his "Posthumous Works," the king makes the loss, on the side of the Austrians, to be 24000 men, and on his own, 18000.

** "He alone was worth ten thousand men." "Seven Years' War."

my. The king determined to shut him up in that place, and took his measures accordingly. The right wing of the Austrians being cut off from Prague, they advanced further into Bohemia; still approaching the Sassawe, and marshal Daun who had already arrived at Böhmisch-Brodt. Zieten having received orders to watch that general's motions, put himself, on the 9th of May, at the head of forty squadrons for that purpose.

Having marched towards Brandeis and Böhmisch-Brodt, he was convinced that marshal Daun had a very considerable force with him; and which, he learnt, would soon be increased by the right wing that had been routed before Prague. His report to the king was conformable to that of general de Manstein and colonel de Puttkammer, who had likewise been sent to observe the enemy on the banks of the Sassawe.

In order to prevent marshal Daun from advancing to the relief of Prague, the reduction of which by famine was shortly expected, it

was

was necessary to oppose him with a stronger body of men.

On the 10th of May, eighteen battalions and fifteen squadrons were detached against him, under the command of the duke of Bevern. This corps, joined to those of Zieten, Manstein, and Puttkammer, amounted to about twenty-two thousand men; and they had an army to cope with, which at first was forty, and afterwards sixty thousand strong.

Notwithstanding this great disproportion of numbers, marshal Daun thought fit to withdraw himself from the duke of Bevern, and to march as far as Collin, Kuttenberg, and Haber. The duke camped at the first of those places; where he took possession of a magazine belonging to the enemy: he likewise detached Zieten to seize upon those of Suchdol, which were very considerable. The general put himself at the head of four battalions and eleven hundred horse; as the enemy had reinforced the post on account of its great importance in furnishing them with supplies of meal.

meal. Zieten dislodged the Cravats who defended the heights, took a great number of them prisoners, and forced the garrison to abandon the town and magazines with very considerable loss. He afterwards made himself master of those of Kuttenberg and Neuhoff.

The duke, who followed him at no great distance, never failed to form his camp on the spot which the marshal had just occupied.

The latter had retreated as far as Haber; and although he must have had his reasons for not waiting for an enemy so inferior in force, he was nevertheless obliged to manœuvre at the expense of his magazines; and from the 10th of May to the 11th of June, he acted a secondary part only; while the duke was covering the blockade of Prague, and Zieten (who had the corps of Nadasty to contend with) was incessantly doing him mischief.

The face of affairs changed, however, on the 18th. The right wing of the prince of Lor-

Lorrain's routed army had joined marshal Daun, and the latter was now two thirds stronger than the duke. Strength inspires bravery; the soldiers were impatient for the onset, and the general soon availed himself of their ardour.

Zieten was the first who perceived an extraordinary movement in the hostile army. A well-timed reconnoitring-party, which with great difficulty he had prevailed on the duke to allow him to make on the 15th, had afforded him very convincing proof of that circumstance. His plan was to gain the heights of Maleschaw, from whence he would be enabled to observe the enemy. The imperialists who occupied this eminence, had filled the valley and the forests that surrounded it, with light cavalry; and, while Zieten's hussars were employed in dislodging them and clearing the circumjacent country, he himself led on his infantry to the hill; where he put a detachment of grenadiers to flight. When he arrived on the summit, he discovered what he had already apprehended: the army of the mar-

marshal lay before him; he saw the danger which threatened that of the duke, and he hastened to apprize him of it.

Marshal Daun had conducted his plan with uncommon art. In order to elude the duke, he caused his centre and his right wing to remain stationary, while the left was marching on under cover of the forests that overspread the country. This secret march could only be perceived from the heights of Maleschaw which the enemy had occupied; and without the assistance of Zieten, the duke's right wing must have been attacked, turned; and himself cut off from Collin. Thus was the plan detected; and, if not frustrated, was at least crossed, and its execution repressed. Zieten had time to inform the duke of his discovery; and the duke to take his measures in consequence.

His army was too weak to make effectual resistance, and he was obliged to fall back upon Collin. He broke up his camp; and, beginning his march, he gained the defiles which

it

it was necessary should lie between the enemy and himself, and waited for them in the plain, where he had taken a secure and formidable position. During this time, Zieten was engaged in an encounter with Nadasty.

He had attacked him with such vigour, that the Austrian partisan was unable to make further resistance. He pushed him upon the left of the infantry, and threw the infantry itself into disorder. By thus checking the enemy, Zieten had given his general time to pass the defiles and to range his troops in order of battle. The fine resistance made by the former, and the formidable attitude the duke was now in, induced the marshal to desist from his pursuit. He contented himself with firing a few cannon, which were duly returned him; and the Prussians made good their retreat to Collin in open daylight, and without any loss.

Zieten and his detachment were the last that arrived there; after having fought, as they retreated, till sunset, and encountered difficul-

difficulties of every kind. His men had been under arms since four in the morning; they had begun with forming the advanced guard, and they finished by sustaining the rear. Impeded by the artillery and baggage-waggons, which it was necessary to protect; checked by the defiles and inundations they had to pass, and by the Cravats who had concealed themselves in the corn-fields, and were incessantly harassing them; these brave warriors, worn out with fatigue, at length joined their comrades. The duke gratefully acknowledged the service that had been done him, and the whole army partook of his satisfaction. The main body, however, had the greater reason to be happy; for they had lost neither tent nor waggon; while Zieten's corps had severely suffered, though their loss has never been accurately estimated.

On the next day (the 14th of June) the duke quitted his position at Collin to join the king at Caurzim, who had arrived there from Prague with ten battalions and twenty squadrons. The duke's baggage could not follow him

him till the day after, on account of the badness of the roads and the defiles they had to pass. Zieten, who covered it, met with scarce any annoyance on the way; and the baggage arrived in safety at its destination.

The king was apprized by the duke of the approach of the marshal, the superiority of his forces, and the necessity of yielding to numbers. His majesty seemed to give credit to the report, and even expressed his approbation of the brilliant retreat which his general had made. On the following day, he changed both his sentiments and his humour: he maintained that Daun had not advanced his army, that the duke had been deceived by the manœuvres of Nadasty, and that he had done wrong to retrograde. That Frederick should give way to such erroneous conclusions is a matter of no small astonishment. Yet it should be considered, that he had hitherto been favoured by fortune in the most extraordinary manner, and now began seriously to persuade himself of the feasibility of any measure his imagination could suggest. He had

had resolved to attack the marshal in a position which he considered as a bad one; and, after having beaten him, to make the forty thousand men, shut up in Prague, prisoners of war. Reason is often the dupe of inclination, and a monarch will always find a crowd of counsellors of the same opinion as himself. In vain did the duke urge the report of eye-witnesses, the depositions of prisoners, the evidence of deserters: some of these, his majesty considered, would not speak the truth; others, he thought, were unacquainted with it: and, as for the prisoners, they either belonged to the corps of Nadasty, or formed a part of a feeble detachment which the marshal had sent out for the mere purpose of deluding the enemy. In a word, the king persisted in his opinion; and, according to him, marshal Daun was stationary in his camp at Golz-Jankaw; and the duke, Zieten, and all the generals, had been deceived by false appearances. Thus prepossessed, he treated them the next day with extreme coolness, and observed repeatedly to his suite, that Nadasty had thrown dust into the duke's eyes and deprived

prived him of his sight. He treated general de Manstein and general de Finck with still great severity; — the first of whom belonged to the corps commanded by Zieten; and the second was the head of the duke's staff. He accused them openly of having made a retreat, which, according to his representations, was useless and precipitate: and what unhappily confirmed the king in his opinion, was the disappearance of the far greater part of Nadasty's troops who had followed the duke as far as Zusmuck. It is not the business of these pages to examine how far this error might have contributed towards the check which the king's army experienced three days after: all we shall venture to say, is that Zieten foresaw that event and even predicted it. On the 15th, he declared on the parade with much agitation of mind, that he apprehended some great disaster; as the king, he lamented, would not credit either him or his brother-officers, or the reports of the advanced-posts, and obstinately persevered in his incredulity.

While marshal Daun was still in the neighbourhood of Collin, the king made preparations for marching to Kuttenberg, to turn his right wing at Golz-Jankaw, and force him to retreat. The routes were traced out, and the 16th of June was fixed upon for the march.

A party had been detached to reconnoitre the ground. M. de Belling and M. de Gaudi, having discovered with the naked eye the camp of marshal Daun, from the top of the steeple of Oberkrut, and plainly perceived his three lines, his cavalry and infantry, made their report accordingly. The king received them ill, asserted and maintained the contrary; and holding a map in his hand, endeavoured to make them believe that what they had seen could have been nothing else than a body of partisans belonging to Nadasty's corps. The advanced-guards, however, having confirmed the news on the evening of the 15th, and declared to have seen a line of cavalry behind the village of Stropschutz, the king detached two battalions and a party of cavalry to keep a good watch during the night.

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The next day the enemy having disappeared, the detachment returned to the camp. In the afternoon, prince Maurice of Dessau arrived with a reinforcement: the king received him in a very gracious manner and said to him, "Daun is still at Golz-Jankaw: I shall march to Janowitz and turn his left wing. Do not attempt to dissuade me from it, if you wish we should remain friends." In the mean time, he arranged the order of battle and made dispositions for the march; which was now no longer intended for Janowitz, on account of the position of the corps which was erroneously taken for that of Nadasty. On the 17th, the army began their march, and moved towards Suchdol and Kuttenberg. When they arrived as far as the entrance of the defile of Stropschutz, it was no longer possible to doubt of the real state of the affair. The king discovered the army of marshal Daun posted near Krichenaw, at the distance of half a German mile from him. The veil dropped from his eyes; he now saw what the duke, what Zieten and several other generals had vainly announced. The marshal had chosen the camp

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and the positions already stated: his attitude clearly shewed that he meant either to attack, or be himself attacked, and that there could be no question of any retreat.

The king sent for prince Maurice and the duke, and shewed them the position of the enemy. The latter stung with indignation at the wrongs he had suffered for some days past, observed that he had been apprized of it the night before; that he had himself seen the hostile columns occupy the field; but considered it useless to communicate it, as his majesty, he knew, still persisted in the idea that they belonged to the corps of Nadasty.

The kings astonishment was extreme. In his writings he speaks of the appearance of marshal Daun as an event totally unlooked for. * This

* The king was desirous of marching the army to Schwoischitz, the environs of which were susceptible of defence; but scarcely had the troops began to move, when marshal Daun made his appearance, and began to form his lines near the above place. This movement on the part

This would not have surprised him, had he taken advantage, four days earlier, of the duke's retreat and of the motives which justified it.

We now come to the 18th of June, a day fatal to the Prussian arms; and whose issue depended on an unhappy concurrence of circumstances, which at the decisive moment, operated in their disfavour.

Zieten headed the cavalry of the left wing, which was destined to begin the attack. It consisted of one hundred squadrons, including a reserve of fifteen, commanded by colonel de Seidlitz.

Marshal Daun judging from the movements of the Prussians that his right wing was menaced, ordered his heavy artillery to that quarter,

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part of the enemy, caused a necessary change in the disposition of the Prussians, and the army thereupon took another direction.

"Seven Years War."

ter, with almost the whole of his cavalry, together with the cavalry of Nadasty's corps, that of the Saxons, and a strong detachment of infantry and Cravats. The latter, with the light troops, were posted in a plantation of oaks, between the out-posts of Krezor and the corps of Nadasty. The cavalry had just joined the above, and extended as far as the line of the army.

The king's plan was, that Zieten should occupy the heights of Kurtlitz with sixty squadrons; that seven battalions, under the command of general de Hulsen, should accompany him to carry the advanced battery of Krzezor, and take possession of a village and a small wood in the neighbourhood; that, in the mean time, Zieten should amuse Nadasty and hinder him from falling upon the left flank of the army.

The king's aim was to attack and turn the enemy's right wing; and to effect this, his left wing was not to leave a vacuity of more than a thousand paces broad between its own line and

and the troops under the command of Hulsen; it was also to turn the village during the attack of Krzezor, to move to the left in order to sustain Hulsen, or to gain the wood which would serve as a prop to it.

Zieten having met with little resistance in his attempt to occupy the heights of Kurtlitz, formed, at the same time as general de Hulsen, for the attack of Krzezor. He left him thirty squadrons to cover his flank and rear, and marched with the other thirty against Nadasty.

Hulsen's attack was attended with such success, that before the arrival of a reinforcement of three battalions, the battery of Krzezor was carried. In the mean time, the infantry on the left wing advanced in order, and colonel de Seidlitz, at the head of the reserve, marched between Krzezor and the heights of Koller to form a junction with Zieten, who had drawn up his cavalry there in two lines. After having stationed the reserve in a third line, Zieten marched against Nadasty, who

being posted behind Kurtlitz, was threatening the king's flank. By an able manœuvre, attended with a prompt and successful attack, Zieten threw that general into disorder, pursued, and cut him off from the rest of the cavalry. The Saxons rallied at some distance from thence: the light troops disbanded, and fled to Collin and Radowesnitz. Zieten began to pursue them; but perceiving that his men suffered considerably from the battery erected in the wood, he halted, and took his post along the brook of Kurtlitz. From thence he kept Nadasty's troops in awe, and hindered them from regaining their former position.

In the mean while, general de Hulsen had taken the wood by assault, and silenced the battery. Victory now appeared certain; but from this moment, every step the Prussians took tended to impede and frustrate it. One fault after another began to be committed in various points of the army. A general * who com-

* M. de Manstein.

commanded the right wing, impelled by mistaken zeal, instead of supporting the left, and remaining in the line, made an inconsiderate attack which was attended with very unhappy consequences. The wood of Krzezor being but feebly occupied, the Austrians, who perceived this, retook it, and repaired the battery. Finally, a want of union between the king and prince Maurice brought on the loss of the battle.

The king was desirous to form a line upon the heights of Krzezor: the prince who commanded the left wing, moved towards the wood, and caused his columns to advance. The first column, which general de Penavaire covered, had arrived at the foot of the heights of Brzissli, when the attack made by Hulsen began. The king at this instant ordered the troops to halt, and was inclined to take another direction. The prince, who foresaw the danger that must attend this change, opposed the measure strongly; and a dispute arose on the ubject between these two commanders, of so violent a nature, that the king was on the point

point of putting an end to it in an unheard of manner. During this time the favourable moment was irrecoverably lost, and the enemy regained the wood and the battery.

It was necessary, whatever it might have cost, to have retaken them for the purpose of preserving a communication with the important post of Krzezor. This was neglected to be done, merely because the generals considered themselves bound to obey literally the orders of the king, and not to change their positions without his consent.

In this day of trouble and disunion, in which a spirit of giddiness and distraction seized the best of the generals, it is not unlikely that Zieten committed faults; and the hand which is tracing the history of his life, more for the instruction of the age than for the glory of his exploits, would not hesitate to insert them, if any authentic accounts could furnish her with materials. *

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* On the contrary, the king in the "History of the Seven Years War" speaks advantageously of the part which

We are assured by witnesses of undoubted credibility, that Zieten's advanced-guard, which was at last commanded by generals Seidlitz and Werner, remained masters of the field of battle, notwithstanding all the efforts of the corps of Nadasty to dislodge them. Supported by a succession of fresh troops, that general had made several fruitless attempts to force a passage: the brave Prussians repelled every attack, and drove the enemy as far as Collin and Radowesnitz. Zieten was no longer at their head. The king, in order to fill up the void spaces in his army, had sent to him for two regiments of cavalry. The general being misinformed by the aide-de-camp, understood that

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which Zieten acted in the battle of Collin. "M. de Zieten had orders to oppose M. de Nadasty with forty squadrons, to prevent him from harassing the Prussian infantry in their operations: the rest of the cavalry were placed in reserve behind the lines. M. de Zieten attacked Nadasty's corps, and totally routed them. He pursued him to Collin; by which means he was cut off from the Austrians, and during the whole day, was rendered unable to impede any of the king's enterprises."

that he was to head them in person. On his way, he found prince Maurice employed in distributing cavalry in the various chasms of the lines to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of their broken state. He thought it necessary to follow his example; and he began to throw his squadrons into the gaps, and upon the enemy who were threatening them; and who, besides the advantage of ground, had likewise that of a formidable and well-served battery. As this battery was raised on the top of a steep eminence, its fire was so destructive, that, in order to get rid of it, prince Maurice had recourse to a desperate and doubtful expedient. He engaged Zieten to put himself at the head of four regiments of heavy horse, and to attempt to carry it. The attack was made, and resisted, with equal vigour. The assailants fell back with great coolness and good order. Their intrepid general made another effort, and was well seconded by his men. The squadrons pressed forward, and the moment of victory was perhaps at hand, when Zieten was struck with a grape-shot. He was seen to faint upon his horse, and was sup-

supposed to be killed; and the troops, who a moment before had braved the mouths of the cannon, were now struck with a panic, and betook themselves to flight. Zieten was on the point of being abandoned to the mercy of the enemy.

The ball had grazed his head, and carried away his cap; the contusion it made had deprived him of all sensation, and he would have fallen from his horse, and have been trampled upon by the fugitives or buried under heaps of dead bodies, had it not been for the timely assistance of a young officer in his suite. His name is entitled to a place in the history of the man he so essentially served. The person to whom Zieten owed his safety, was M. de Berge, a cornet of the regiment of Krockow. He flew to the general, and supported him on the saddle; and while he was endeavouring to restore him to life, the general's horse was pierced by a new discharge of grape-shot. The cornet alighted before the horse fell, and taking advantage of the moment in which Zieten began to recover, he placed him

him upon his own; and covering his head with an old hat which had belonged to an Austrian musketeer, he delivered him up to the care of a brave and well-mounted cuirassier who conducted him to the equipages of prince Maurice, where a surgeon fortunately was procured to dress his wound. The cornet had provided himself with another horse, and rejoined his corps.

Till Zieten was in a situation to be removed, he was placed in prince Maurice's coach, where he remained till the unfortunate issue of the day. As soon as a retreat was decided upon, the prince came in person to consult him on the direction the cavalry had to take. The place of rendezvous for the Prussians was fixed at Nimbourg. A general despondency prevailed through the army. Zieten, however, who partook of it in common with the rest, was able to conceal it in the recesses of his heart. He had now seen the laurels of many a campaign tarnished for the first time; he wept over thirteen thousand men, either killed or wounded; and he recollected

lected, with the deepest regret, the victims of the battle of Prague and of Maleschaw: and he considered too, that much blood was still likely to be shed. Nor is it indeed possible, even at the present day, to reflect on these accumulated disasters without shuddering; and the commander, the best practised in resources, is at a loss to conceive how Frederick was enabled to sustain, and terminate with glory, this destructive war with such disproportionate forces, and to engage in such a number of battles, undismayed by the losses he met with in several of them. At Collin, where he had only the imperialists to contend with, he had no more than thirty thousand men to oppose to double that number. The disproportion became afterwards more considerable. As the Prussians grew weak, the number of their foes increased; and instead of those brave veterans at whose head the king had opened his first campaign, he could now bring forwards raw troops only; an army of strangers, equally devoid of courage and patriotism.

In such point of view it is, that the reader will follow up the events of this war, and judge of the talents of those who conducted it, if he would accurately appreciate the merits both of the one and the other.

The imperialists did not pursue the Prussians to the place of their retreat. Zieten arrived in safety, in the princes carriage, at Nimbourg, where several generals and officers of rank came to visit him and to express the pleasure they felt on his escape from the dangers which had recently threatened him. The general presented M. de Berge to all of them as his deliverer; and the brilliant action of the young cornet excited universal approbation, and gained every heart. The whole army was thankful to him for the preservation of Zieten. The general, in token of his gratitude, made him a present of the finest horse he possessed; and, about a year afterwerds, he incorporated him into his own regiment.

M. de Berge served with reputation; acquired a name at the expense of his blood; and

and being raised to the rank of colonel of his regiment, he died during the campaign of the Rhine, under an operation to which he was obliged to submit, on account of an old wound he had received at the battle of Hochkirchen.

The brave cuirassier, who had conveyed Zieten through so many dangers to a place of safety, was not unrewarded; although the secresy, with which the general always did his acts of kindness, deprives us of the particulars of it.

While the king, after the battle of Collin, was withdrawing his troops by degrees out of Bohemia, and Zieten was still at Nimbourg on account of his wound, the latter had the satisfaction to hear, that his regiment had distinguished themselves on many occasions. At one time, he was informed that the king who had put himself at their head, in order to disperse a body of light troops who impeded the communications, had taken or killed some hundreds of the enemy, and had sent an account of

of his success to prince Maurice; at another, he was apprized, that one of his officers had received the order of military merit for the gallant manner in which he had just acquitted himself.

This officer is not unknown to the reader, who must recollect M. de Seelen, the deliverer of M. de Heyden at Ulm.

M. de Seelen, raised since that time to the rank of major, was now commanding a party of one hundred horse at Pascopol; and the grenadiers of Kleist were defending the defiles of Wellmina, to cover the king's camp which lay exposed upon the heights of Disnova. The latter had reason to expect to be molested there; and, in fact, colonel de Laudon, whose military talents began at this time to grow formidable, determining at all events to carry that post, attacked it, and surrounded the grenadiers; who being formed in a square battalion, sustained the shock during the space of three hours. Major de Seelen being apprized of their perilous situation, poured down from Pasco-

Pascopol in full speed; and falling upon the enemy's rear, delivered his countrymen at the very moment in which they were going to surrender for want of ammunition.

At this period, so disastrous to the Prussian arms, Zieten strenuously exerted himself to revive the drooping courage of his men. As soon as he recovered, he resumed his former activity; and by throwing a veil over the past, and exhibiting the future in a more flattering point of view, he imparted new vigour to his troops. He remained with prince Maurice at Nimbourg till the middle of July, and then joined the royal army, at the head of his regiment, together with a few battalions of infantry, and repassed the Elbe at Pirna on the 29th of July. On the 30th, the more effectually to cover the march, he made a reconnoitring party of considerable importance, as it enabled him to observe the position the Austrians had taken. General de Beck had now secretly advanced along the banks of the Löbaw as far as Weissenberg: he was discovered, and his troops put to flight. The king follow-

followed him on the next day, in hopes of overtaking, and routing him; but the general was a whole night's march beforehand with his pursuers; having, immediately after his encounter with Zieten, directed his march towards the prince of Lorrain's army, which the battle of Collin had delivered, and which was engaged in pursuing of that of the king. The pursuit of general de Beck enabled the Prussians to drive the enemy from the banks of the Queiss and the Neiss, and to re-establish a direct communication with Selisia.

About this time, the king being pressed on all sides, and obliged to encounter several enemies at once, marched into Franconia to attack the French and imperialists who were now threatening Magdebourg, Torgaw, and Dresden. On the 25th of August, he broke up his camp at Bornstädel; and dividing his army into two parts, put himself at the head of one of them, and left the other under the command of the duke of Bevern. The division of the latter consisted of forty-seven battalions and one hundred and ten squadrons; form-

forming together a body of about thirty thousand men. With these, the duke had an army to cope with more than ninety thousand strong, under the command of the prince of Lorrain, with whom marshal Daun had just made a junction.

Hitherto the hussars of Zieten had ever had the honour to accompany the king on his marches, and to form a part of the corps or columns his majesty led in person. They were now, for the first time, deprived of the exercise of a duty which the very name of hussar-lifeguards seems to imply an exclusive title to. Of this innovation M. de Winterfeld was the cause: he had prevailed on the king to allow him to join Zieten and his regiment to the corps he commanded, and which was destined to act in concert with the duke of Bevern, while the king himself was marching into Franconia.

The duke had formed his camp at Görlitz, for the purpose of being at the same time near Silesia and the magazines of Dresden, from

which latter place he drew his provisions. General de Winterfeld, with fifteen battalions, encamped at Mois, in the face of Nadasty's corps. This position secured such passages to Silesia as lay between the Neiss and the Queiss. His left wing was covered by the village of Holzberg and a hill which bore the same name. The general occupied this eminence with two battalions who entrenched themselves thereon; but having neglected to take the like precaution with regard to another hill, called the Galgenberg; Nadasty, who was desirous of gaining the Holzberg, soon availed himself of the error. Reinforced by the corps of Ahremberg, he began his march on the 7th of September in the midst of a thick fog; and giving a false alarm to Zieten's advanced posts, he turned the Holzberg, occupied the Galgenberg, and erected a battery upon the latter, from whence he began to play upon the former eminence, and to annoy the regiment of Zieten. At eleven o'clock, forty companies of grenadiers attacked the two Prussian battalions, who, after having defended themselves with singular bravery, and repeatedly

tedly driven back the enemy, were obliged to yield to numbers, and make their retreat. The unevenness of the ground, and the swarms of Austrians that covered the country, prevented the hussars from retrieving the day; and all they were able to do, was to impede any pursuit. Major de Möhring, at the head of a few squadrons, threw himself between the dislodged battalions and the Austrians, and repulsed the latter with vigour.

During the engagement, M. de Winterfeld was at the head-quaters at Görlitz. The moment he was apprized of the danger his troops were in, he hastened to the camp, and putting himself at the head of a few battalions, he marched to the Holzberg with a view of recovering it, or at least of avoiding the dishonour of giving it up without making any resistance. He therefore determined to attack the Austrians notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers and the advantageousness of their position.

Zieten strenuously endeavoured to persuade him from it. He not only was aware of the

danger and impracticableness of the enterprise, but he was also sensible of the folly and absurdity of it. He conjured his general not to sacrifice a crowd of brave warriors to a false point of honour. His remonstrances were vain: Winterfeld still persisted in the resolution he had taken, and Zieten's prediction was unhappily accomplished. The Holzberg, though strewed with thousands of victims, was not retaken, and Winterfeld himself received a mortal wound in the action, of which he died the next day. A great number of officers, among whom were several of the first rank, were either killed or wounded. The number of dead, with which the field of battle was covered, was so great that it was necessary to conclude a truce of forty-eight hours for the purpose of interring them.

Zieten felt deeply for the misfortunes of the day, and for the indiscretion of the man who had occasioned them. He refrained, however, from having recourse to useless reproaches: he refrained even from seeing him, lest his presence should give him pain; and he waited

waited till he was dead, before he applied to the duke for new orders.

What further evinces the inutility of this battle and the small importance of the recovery of the Holzberg, was the circumstance of Nadasty's having abandoned it of his own accord on the 7th of September, although he had paid so dearly for the acquisition of it two days before Winterfeld's corps had joined the army of the duke.

Notwithstanding the vicinity of a formidable army, and so superiour in number, that prince remained unmolested in his camp at Görlitz till all his magazines were consumed; nor did he change the theatre of war before the arrival of the last convoy. As soon as the flour for the march was collected, he called in the detachments that covered the communications; and after having distributed nine days' provision, he marched, on the 10th, towards Silesia, where he had already established his magazines.

His route lay through Lignitz: he had three rivers to pass before he arrived there, and he had, moreover, good reason to expect to meet with resistance. The main army of the imperialists lay in the neighbourhood; several detached corps kept hovering round him; and in order to check or disperse them, he had recourse to the never-failing assistance of Zieten, whom he stationed in the rear-guard at the head of the division of Fouqué, lately Winterfeld's. The Austrians, instead of harassing the duke upon his march, were contended with skirting him at a distance.

After having safely passed the Neiss, the duke was on the verge of being severely harassed by a swarm of light troops which infested the circumjacent country. To rid him of this annoyance, Zieten had recourse to stratagem. He placed his hussars in ambush; and the Cravats, who considered themselves as masters of the ground, ventured too far forwards, and were suddenly surrounded and taken. In the mean time, the Prussian army passed the Queiss, and encamped at Nauenburg.

With

With the like good fortune, Zieten secured the passage of the Bober.' He attacked a detachment of cavalry at Bürkenbrück with such success, that out of five hundred men, of whom it consisted, a very small number escaped. During this march, he took between two and three hundred prisoners, and twenty officers. The duke arrived, with his army, first at Bunzlaw, and, on the 19th, at Lignitz.

From thence he sent a large detachment, under the command of lieutenant-general de Fouqué, to reinforce the garrisons of Schweidnitz, Glatz, and Breslaw, which were all threatened by the enemy at the same time. For, while the Prussians were on their march to Lignitz, the prince of Lorrain had filed through Löwenberg and Goldberg, continually hanging upon the duke's army, and at length entered Silesia with it, and advanced as far as Wahlstadt. The duke then apprehending more for the capital than for Schweidnitz, which stood in no need of succour, determined to quit his position at Lignitz, and to hasten to cover Breslaw.

In

In the same night in which the imperialists encamped at Wahlstadt, he moved towards Parchwitz, passed the Oder at Lampersdorf, and arrived, by forced marches, at Breslaw on the 1st of October, where he repassed the above river and formed an entrenched camp behind the Lohe. The army, for the first time since it had quitted Görlitz, was able to take some repose, and Zieten to enjoy the satisfaction of having protected it against an enterprising and more powerful enemy. His pleasure, however, was not unmixed with pain. From the past, he could derive no consolation for the future; for although the Prussians were encamped under the walls of Breslaw, they were not the less menaced; and he could perceive at a distance the storm which was soon to burst over their heads.

Prince Charles, upon whom the duke of Bevern had gained a march by dint of able manœuvring, arrived in the night of the 2nd of October on the banks of the Lohe at Lissa, where he encamped in the face of the Prussians. The corps of general de Nadasty, reinforced

forced by a body of Wurtemberg and Bavarian troops, marched to Schweidnitz, and began the siege of that place on the 27th of October.

The two armies continued observing each other before Breslaw for the space of five weeks without quitting their positions; when the prince, availing himself of his superiour force, soon made the duke sensible of it; and, from this moment, a reverse of fortune began to attend him, and his army, and Zieten, which the genius of Prussia struggled in vain to avert.

In these transactions, Zieten acted too conspicuous a part, not to render a short detail, relative to the division he had under his orders, an object of some importance. The eight battalions and fifty squadrons he commanded, which were considerably weakened by battles, marches, sickness and desertion, hardly amounted to eight thousand effective men, inclusive of a reinforcement he had likewise received. This motley division was equally deficient in energy and union.

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It consisted of two battalions of the grenadiers of Schenkendorf and Rosenbusch; a battalion of Schultz; two battalions of Munchow; a battalion of Wurtemberg-senior; a battalion of Brunswick; a free battalion of Angenelli; of thirty squadrons, drawn from the regiments of Bayreuth, Normann, Steckow, Krockow-junior, and Wartenberg; and of twenty squadrons of the hussars of Zieten and Werner, two regiments of infantry of Lestwitz and Pannewitz, and the two regiments of cavalry of Gessler and the margrave Frederick.

According to the duke's order of battle, this division, stationed in the left wing of the camp, extended from Klein-Mochber to the suburb of Saint Nicholas.

From hence Zieten detached general de Werner, on the 29th of October, to chase the Austrians from Klettendorf, which they had occupied with a body of cavalry, hussars, and Cravats. The expedition was fortunate: the enemy did not make long resistance; and after firing a few cannon, they began to retreat.

The

The hussars of Zieten and Werner, having fallen upon the rear-guard, killed, wounded or took prisoners some hundreds of men.

But these slight advantages were more than counterbalanced by the alarming news, that Schweidnitz had surrendered on the 11th of August to general de Nadasty. This disastrous event intirely frustrated the plan which had been concerted between the king and the duke of Bevern; as the latter could only cope with the enemy on the supposition that Schweidnitz would at least hold out for six weeks; — till the return of the king, who had promised succour both to the fortress and the camp. The reduction of this place was the more unexpected, as it was furnished with a sufficient garrison, and had plenty of provisions and military stores.

Nadasty leaving only a small garrison there, was enabled to join the grand imperial army with the far greater part of his corps; and he marched, and encamped in the prince's right wing, between Bethlem and Opperaw. It may not

not be amiss to remark, that this single reinforcement was equal to two thirds of the duke's army, which at this time amounted to twenty-five thousand men only; including the corps under the command of Zieten.

With all the advantage which superiority of numbers could afford him, prince Charles attacked the duke of Bevern on the 22nd of November.

In this battle, Zieten had Nadasty to cope with again.

At break of day, the Austrians approached the Lohe, and began to prepare for three several attacks which had been concerted among them. General de Nadasty having passed the river at Hartlieb, Zieten made ready for a defence. He moved to the left, to hinder Nadasty from turning the suburb of Saint Nicholas (to which place he was advancing) and likewise to cut him off from Breslaw. It was then, that the duke reinforced Zieten with the four regiments already mentioned; as, according

cording to all appearance, the principal attack would be made on that point. Zieten now took the following positions.

The battalion of Schutz occupied the redoubt of Gräbischen, and drew up in order of battle before the village. The two redoubts on the heights between Gabitz and Gräbischen were supplied by the regiment of Lestwitz. The regiments of Gressler and the margrave Frederick were posted in the midst of the three redoubts, to support the infantry. The village of Kleinberg was defended by the free battalion of Angenelli; and the rest of Zieten's corps were ranged in two lines, the second of which extended from Neudorf to Herdam.

General de Nadasty having formed in order of battle, detached a strong party of Cravats and infantry to Woischowitz, to fall upon Zieten's left flank. The latter, however, had scarcely observed the head of their columns, when he received them with a discharge of artillery and fell upon them with his hussars and

and dragoons with such vigour, that he put the Cravats to flight, together with the Hungarian and the Wurtemberg infantry, and took a considerable number of prisoners. In the mean while, the flower of the Austrian grenadiers had attacked and carried the village of Kleinbourg, notwithstanding the glorious resistance on the part of Angenelli's battalion; who being forced to evacuate the place, formed behind a ditch, and maintained that post till the arrival of the prince of Bevern (brother to the duke of that name) and a battalion of Lestwitz, with two battalions of grenadiers that Zieten had sent to their succour. An engagement then took place between the infantry, in which the brave troops under the command of Zieten, sustained by his own hussars and those of Werner, were conquerors. Four companies of grenadiers, on whom the hussars made a well-timed charge, were cut to pieces, and the rest were obliged to abandon the village, together with thirteen cannon. Of these cannon, the victors, for want of horses, were unable to secure more than four, which were transported to Breslaw; the rest, with

with the unfortunate village, became the prey of the flames.

Such was the fruitless issue of the two first attacks made by Nadasty against Zieten. These two able commanders were, moreover, too well acquainted with each other's prowess, as well as with the art of war, to allow the flanks of their respective armies, which it was their duty to protect, to be needlessly uncovered. Satisfied with observing, with menacing, and with reciprocally endeavouring to turn one another, they deferred to a more favourable opportunity the task of measuring together and of coming to more decisive blows. Zieten, in particular, being obliged to act on the defensive, had at least the satisfaction of having kept his adversary in awe. Although his line was much further extended than was consistent with the paucity of his troops, he maintained his post till evening; kept the corps of Nadasty in a state of inaction, and furnished him with sufficient occupation to hinder him from keeping up any communication with the main army and acting in concert with

with it. He had solely one untoward circumstance to combat with: the redoubt before the village of Gräbischen, whose importance was very great, as it preserved the communication between his corps and the left wing of the army, was, in consequence of an unpardonable mistake, abandoned by the garrison; who, consisting of a part a regiment that was advancing upon Klein-Mochber, thought it their duty to march on along with it. The detachment not only left the redoubt naked, but even took away the artillery which had defended it. The prince of Lorrain, availing himself of this error, took possession of the village, which he found in a defenceless condition, and of the redoubt itself, from whence he began a heavy cannonading upon the duke's left wing, and quickly forced it to give way.

Fortune, in this battle, was in every respect unfavourable to the Prussians. In vain did their centre and right wing combat with undaunted bravery; in vain, with the duke at their head, did they dispute every inch of ground; in vain their principal officers, and parti-

particularly prince Ferdinand of Prussia, like Schwerin in the battle of Prague, assaulted the batteries with colours in their hands; and every soldier maintained his position without giving way a single step; — the victory, as the enemy did not repass the Lohe, remained still undecided. Too feeble to drive them back to their first situation, the Prussians felt their courage decline with the declining day: they had fought from sunrise till the approach of evening; they had been attacked upon three several points and been forced to exert themselves to the utmost of their power in making the necessary resistance. Before them, they had a low, marshy, and uneven ground, unfitted for the manœuvres of the cavalry. In fine, and above all, the great disproportion of numbers, of artillery, and the want of ammunition, and of every thing that encourages the soldier's energy and sustains his valour, convincing them of the inutility of their efforts, and of the only part they had now to act, they gave way to such conviction, obeyed themselves only, — and, without any retreat being ordered, they dis-

banded; and at the close of the day entered the city of Breslaw.

A single column, composed of the bravest of the army, kept aloof from this retreat. They had driven the enemy from Klein-Mochber; and the duke, who had seen them fight with such resolution and brave at the same time both the enemy and the approach of night, indulged the flattering hope that while they were repulsing the Austrians on one side, Zieten with his hussars would fall upon them and take them in the rear. He hastened in quest of him to concert upon this measure, but unfortunately on his return, the column was no longer to be found. They had yielded the field to the enemy, who had attacked them with their whole force; and being cut off from all support and unable to draw up their cavalry on account of the swamps, and the darkness which had overtaken them, they had at length followed the rest of the army. The cessation of the artillery, and the silence of the night succeeded to the tumult of arms; and the morning informed the enemy of their victory

victory and of the advantages they had to derive from it.

Zieten, like the rest, was obliged to quit the field of battle and take shelter under the cannon of Breslaw. He was deeply afflicted on seeing the Prussians turn their backs upon the enemy; and his sorrow increased on observing them, for some time after the disaster, dismayed and chilled with terror, and their chief a prey to melancholy and despair. Zieten feelingly bemoaned this in secret; and shall now see how he acted in public, and what steps he took to repair the mischief.

The duke, after having left a garrison in Breslaw, had quitted that place on the next day (the 23rd of November) and led the wrecks of the army as far as Protsch, which lies three German miles from the above city. From thence he had attempted to reconnoitre the enemy; but being attended by a feeble escort, he had the misfortune to fall into their hands. A long captivity then interrupted the military career of the victor of Reichenberg,

the hero of Prague, of Kuttenberg, of Görlitz; — of an able and experienced commander, whose recent misfortunes caused all his former successes to be soon forgotten, and whose merit was at last disowned by his sovereign, and perhaps will be treated in like manner by posterity. If the first and most competent of his judges had his reasons for treating him with such severity, we are too little acquainted with those reasons to acquiesce in them blindly, without becoming guilty of partiality and even of injustice. We shall therefore only observe, that the whole army lamented and loved their chief under his misfortunes, and that Zieten's grief was equally sincere and poignant.

Lieutenant-general de Lestwitz, who, in right of seniority, took the command of the army in the duke's stead, having received at noon the account of the enemy's being in full march towards Breslaw, had given orders to break up the camp and to continue the retreat, as he was fearful that the place, which was ill supported by a garrison the duke had left

left in it, under the command of general de Katte, would not hold out. Every officer to whom he communicated his intention, ventured to oppose it, and to make strong remonstrances on the occasion. Among these, prince Ferdinand of Prussia and the princes of Brunswick and Bevern, endeavoured to cure him of his panic, and strove to make him feel, that the danger was not so urgent, that this sudden and pusillanimous movement would tend to increase the dismay the troops were already under, and promote desertion. M. de Lestwitz still persisting in his resolution, it was represented to him, that general de Katte might perhaps make some resistance, that he would at least amuse the enemy, and that in case Breslaw should immediately surrender, the Austrians could not undertake any thing on the same day against the Prussian camp at three German miles' distance from thence, as they would be embarrassed by the narrowness of the streets of that spacious city, in which besides there was only one bridge over which the army had to file; — all this, however, was urged in vain. At length the generals satis-

satisfied themselves with requesting, that the order for decamping might be countermanded, and deferred to the next day. To this measure he was not only inexorable, but considering these remonstrances as so many contradictions, he put an end to them by asking the generals, and even the princes who composed a part of them, if they had forgotten the laws of subordination, and if they wished to force him to call a council of war. This was an argument that admitted of no reply, and to which every one immediately yielded. They all withdrew, and each set about giving the necessary orders to his division.

While these preparations were making, Zieten, who had not been present at the deliberations, returned from a neighbouring village, where had been visiting a detached post. Witness to the consternation of the army, incensed at the panic which reigned through the whole camp, and seeing the preparations which were made in the head-quarters for the march; he peremptorily demanded, what all that hurry and all those preparations signified.

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Being informed of the order which the commander in chief had just given, he suppressed his indignation, and assuming a grave and authoritative air, "Comrades!" cried he, "what are you about? Be assured there is not the least danger! Let every thing alone: rely on me; we are not to march to-day!" In this manner he continued to address the troops as he went on towards the general's quarters, whither he was hastening for the purpose of obtaining some explanation of what was going forwards. So intirely was his attention engrossed by this business, that he forgot to uncover himself when he entered. All other considerations, at this moment, giving way to that of repairing a capital error in judgment on the part of his commanding officer, he appeared before him with his hussar-cap on his head, and spoke to him with such force and energy, that every word seemed to be an order.

Addressing himself to the man, who had just been speaking to the other generals of subordination and a council of war, he asked him,

him, what view he could have in ordering the troops to decamp with such precipitation. "Would you have them," continued he, "lose the small remains of courage they still possess? Would you deprive the king of his army? Do you suppose that such a retreat, which it would be hard to distinguish from a flight, would not make every soldier believe his situation to be desperate? And, upon that supposition, how shall you be able to prevent desertion? how secure the artillery, the provisions, the baggage? Every thing will be wantonly sacrificed without our being at all driven by the proximity of the enemy to such an extremity." "For my own part," added he, "I shall never give my concurrence to such ill-concerted measures. The army, it is true, cannot maintain its position, but must fall back. Yet what hinders us from taking that step with due reflection, and after having afforded the troops time to recover themselves from the consternation they are now under? Let us give them some rest during the remaining part of the day, and, at the close of it, issue the orders for march-

marching to-morrow: let us then decamp at sunrise."

All the princes, all the generals, who had unavailingly urged the same advice, and had just come back to the commander in chief's quarters, were witnesses to this spirited harangue: for, the moment in which Zieten had returned to the camp, and in which a rumour began to prevail that the troops were not to march, these generals had followed him to M. de Lestwitz' tent, to learn the effect the new representations might have upon him. The affair was drawing to a crisis, when a messenger arrived in great haste with despatches for the duke of Bevern, whose defeat and subsequent misfortune the king was yet a stranger to. The packet was instantly opened and deciphered. Its contents announced the victory of Rossbach, the approach of the king, together with an order to pass the Oder at Lebus, and to join the royal army at Parchwitz. General de Lestwitz was therein named governor of Breslaw; and that officer, without explaining himself any further with regard to

to the march of the army, immediately obeyed the orders of his sovereign, resigned his command to lieutenant-general de Kiow, his next in rank, and set out to his garrison.

The new commander in chief, thus furnished with the king's orders, began to execute them literally, and as if they had been addressed personally to him; and without entering into the discussions and debates which had just been agitated, he gave the order to march; when he experienced on the part of Zieten the same opposition which had been made to the measures of M. de Lestwitz. Zieten's choler, which had long glowed in his veins, at length grew inflamed, and inspired that becoming boldness, that irresistible energy, which, in effect, saved the army. He first began to make general de Kiow feel that under the present circumstances, it was less necessary to abide by the letter than the spirit of the king's commands, which were given out at a time in which his majesty not only was ignorant of the events that had taken place, but could not have foreseen them; that

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it was incumbent on him to confine himself to the observance of the king's principal intention in marching to Parchwitz, but that the route, the means, the detail, were the general's own concern; that the safety of the army was the first law he had to obey; that it was the business of prudence to dictate, and of courage to execute it; that it was necessary to put off the decampment of the troops to the next day; to pass the Oder, not at Lebus, but at Glogaw, where there was a bridge ready to transport them over it; that the provisioning of the army was an object of the highest importance and might be better effected in the latter town; that having passed the Oder without molestation, the troops would easily arrive at Parchwitz.

This counsel was certainly worthy the attention of the general of an army, dispirited by defeat, insensible of its own force, and scarce alive to the instinct of courage. If Zieten waved for a moment the duty he owed to the laws of subordination, to seniority of rank, to example, to a commander in chief, we cannot

cannot better palliate his conduct than by laying it to the account of his love for his country, and by connecting it with the event to which it led. At this critical and decisive moment, he could not prevail on himself to take a scrap of paper for his rule of conduct; he consulted duties of superiour importance, and considered the preservation of the army as the most sacred object he had in view. To this end, as he still observed M. de Kiow hesitate and seem averse to come to any determination, he proceeded in a more resolute manner, and exclaimed; "Shall I tell you, general, what is necessary to be done? Come; let us make a disposition together" Kiow complied in silence. It was instantly committed to paper; Zieten revised it, took up the pen, retouched it, made alterations and additions. He conducted this business with vehemence; his eye was on fire, and his whole countenance inspired terror. All this was, however, necessary; and a few days after, the king was obligated to him for the safety of the duke's army, and for the happy effects which resulted from their junction with the troops; who by the victory

victory of Rossbach had prepared that of Leuthen and delivered their country from imminent danger.

The merit of Zieten appears in a stronger point of view, when we consider that the Prussian troops, practiced in the art of fighting and gaining victories, had not till lately been lectured in the school of adversity, and that the duke's army would probably have disbanded and given themselves up to the enemy, had they been at all aware of any pusillanimity in the conduct of their commander. The very idea of the possibility of such an event made Zieten shudder; and to this well-grounded apprehension was joined the consideration, that a great part of the army was composed of strangers, or at least of Silesians, whom the difference of religion and the obligation of fighting against their former sovereign, rendered ill-attached to the service of a prince whose tolerance and eminent qualities they were not yet acquainted with. Nothing, indeed, could be more likely than their taking the first opportunity that offered to desert their

their standards and return to their respective homes, or even to go over to the enemy. More than one instance of the kind, and to which he had himself been witness, served to increase his apprehensions. Among others, on the day in which the battle was lost, being engaged behind the army in rallying the fugitives, an officer (not a native of Prussia) passed by him in full speed at the head of thirty deserters; "Whither are you going?" demanded Zieten. "To the Austrians," he replied. The general, who at this moment was accompanied by his faithful attendant-hussar, * calmly turned his horse's head, and said to the latter "Let us be gone, comrade, lest they should force you and me to go with them."

The deference which M. de Kiow shewed to the advice of a subordinate general on the late occasion, did him the greatest honour. He ordered the decampment for the next day, and

* Fahrenholz.

and marched the army to Parchwitz through Glogaw.

The garrison of Breslaw followed the army immediately after. Prince Charles had granted them free egress, with arms and baggage, in order to enter with the greater expedition into the town. The king did not wait the arrival of Lestwitz, Kiow, and Katte, to express his disapprobation of a conduct which he taxed with heedlessness and cowardice. He had previously ordered Zieten to put them under arrest and to convey them to Glogaw. But being soon convinced, that they had not been guilty of treason, and that their conduct had solely arisen from the embarrassment of their situations, he ordered them to be set at liberty, and afterwards made them ample reparation.

At the time when he charged Zieten with this disagreeable commission, he had named him general in chief of the duke's army * till the

* November the 27th.

the junction which soon after took place at Parchwitz. Zieten had the satisfaction to bring him the wreck of that army, which now scarcely formed a body of fifteen thousand men; but they were all warriors, inured to danger and fatigue, and who had shewn themselves incapable of desertion; choice troops, ripe for exploits, and waiting only the voice of their prince, their country, and the call of honour, to rekindle in their breasts the sacred fire of heroism. This reinforcement, small with regard to number and appearance, but which Frederick knew how to appreciate for their courage, and shortly to turn to good account, he owed to the firmness, the preserverance, the resistance even, of Zieten.

Prince Charles being informed of the return of the king, who had marched from the banks of the Oder to Leipsic in twelve days, and calculating that, after the junction, the two corps could not amount to more than thirty thousand men, whom he considered as worn out with fatigue, quitted his post at Breslaw in order to offer battle. He passed the Weis-

Weistritz, * encamped between Leuthen and Lissa, and took a formidable position. He hoped to vanquish the king, as he had vanquished the duke: he, however, experienced himself the fate which he had endeavoured to prepare for others.

Frederick began his march at the head of his little army on the 4th of December. The fortunate encounters of his advanced-guard, which he led on in person, assisted by Zieten and his hussars, were so many preludes to victory. Strong detachments of the enemy were posted at Neumark and Borna, and were successively surprised by the Prussians. Near three hundred Austrians were killed, twelve hundred were made prisoners, together with nineteen officers. Five standards and all the camp-ovens were likewise taken.

On the following day, the 5th of December, was fought that famous battle, which, on

* The rivulet that runs through Schweidnitz.

on account of its consequences as well as the dreadful carnage that attended it, is deserving of a distinguished place in the annals of war. Few readers can be ignorant, that, on the evening before it was given, Frederick, with all his generals and other officiers, had solemnly bound themselves to conquer or to die. An able disposition followed this awful engagement; the parts of the grand tragedy were given out, and every one acted that which was allotted him in a manner conducive to the success of the day. The king acknowledges in his works, that he was glad to have found the enemy in a position that facilitated his enterprise; that he was necessitated, and had resolved to attack them wherever he should have found them, had it been even at Zobtenberg. He had likewise reason to rejoice at the spirited temper of his troops, who had so well seconded him, and executed with such exactness and celerity, what he had conceived with so much skill and genius. A day so memorable, and so interesting to the military reader, has a claim to particular notice in the life of one of its most distinguished heroes,

and

and we shall therefore add a short but accurate account of the battle for his satisfaction.

Zieten was situated in the right wing: there the attack was made, and such could not fail to be his post. He had Nadasty before him, and he beat him according to custom. Six brave battalions of grenadiers, two regiments with general de Wedel at their head, took the batteries of Nadasty's corps, and put his infantry to flight. Zieten, at the head of his cavalry, broke the ranks of the enemy's horse, pursued and hemmed in the fugitives, and completely routed them. * This fortunate commencement greatly facilitated the attack made by the king on the left wing of the Austrians, which being no longer supported by Nadasty, was soon borne down, turned, and driven upon the centre, and the centre driven upon the right. In less than six hours

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the

* M. de Zieten charged the enemy's cavalry, and put them to flight. "Seven Years' War."

the whole line was in a confused heap; the colossus was broken, the disgrace of Breslaw cancelled, and victory reinstated in her former post.

From the 18th of June till the beginning of December, the army of the empress-queen had affected to give the law to the Prussians, to drive them out of Silesia, and to confine them to their former boundaries. It was now the Austrians' turn, not only to yield, to retreat, but to fly with such precipitation and loss, as to be reduced to less than half their number on their arrival in Bohemia.

The vicissitudes of fortune which abound in every situation of life and influence every event, are in no point of view so remarkable as in the chances of war.

The consternation of the imperialists, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat, began with the corps under the command of Nadasty. Zieten, who was enabled to avail himself of this, took a prodigious number

ber of prisoners. His own regiment alone, commanded by the gallant colonel de Seelen, took two thousand Bavarians and Wirtembergers. The panic was so great, that the remains of a whole regiment surrendered to a cornet and six of Zieten's hussars. The cornet conducted his prisoners to the king, who immediately raised him to the rank of captain, and invested him with the order of military merit.

The principal attack had been attended with greater difficulty. The enemy made resistance on every point, and in particular, defended the important post of Leuthen with great valour. The reduction of that place was reserved for captain de Möllendorf, * who carried it at the head of a battalion of guards, and secured the victory of which Zieten had laid the foundation. The Prussian battalions dislodged the enemy from one post after another.

* Now field-marshal of the Prussian armies and governor of the city of Berlin.

other. The regiment of Bayreuth took them in flank, and the rest of the cavalry completed the rout. Dismay succeeded to bravery; and the Austrians, being ill-officered, ill-supported, and alike unable to defend themselves or to run away, yielded to the conquerors in crowds, in half-battalions, in battalions.

To shew to what degree this panic had possessed the minds of the enemy, and how far the mere presence of Frederick was formidable, we shall here mention an anecdote, which M. de Tempelhof has preserved in his excellent history of the seven years' war, and which recalls the memory of the heroic ages, in which Achilles, unarmed, put the Trojans to flight by only appearing before them. The battle was gained; night came on, and the king, desirous of following up the advantages he had acquired, marched with some battalions of voluntiers to Lissa, into which the bulk of the hostile army had thrown themselves for the purpose of crossing the Weistritz. His majesty, at the head of the infantry,

try and attended by a part of his suite, entered the town, and proceeded to the castle, notwithstanding the Austrian troops he passed on his way, who all gave him place. The generals, the officers who occupied the apartments of the castle, received him in the most respectful manner, did the honours of the house, and retired. A little while after, his battalions arrived; but they were not so civilly received, as the enemy repeatedly fired on them before they evacuated the place.

The victor of Rossbach and Leuthen terminated the campaign as gloriously as he had began it, whilst prince Charles, awakened from the agreeable dream, into which fortune had for a moment lulled him, began to fall into a long series of disasters, which strikingly exemplified the caprice of that fickle power. His conduct after the battle served but to aggravate his loss; his retreat, which had rather the appearance of a flight, led him into the same errors which Zieten had with so much difficulty prevented the Prussian generals from falling into after their defeat at Breslaw.

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Instead of taking post behind the Weistritz, which he had passed during the night, he fell back upon Breslaw; and far from expecting the king (who followed him very closely) and after having thrown a strong garrison * into that city, which fell into the hands of the Prussians, he hastily continued his retreat. All that Zieten had predicted of the duke's army, and which would infallibly have happened to it, had the advice of the commander in chief been followed, was now literally fulfilled in that of prince Charles. The Austrian troops, doubly dispirited at having been beaten by those whom they had just before overcome, stood in more than ordinary need of encouragement. Instead of measures conducive to such end, his flight was precipitated, and the preservation of the army despaired of. Hence thousands of deserters come over to the Prussians; and the more so, as Zieten, who pressed them on every side, had left them no other resource.

On

* 17500 men.

On the 7th of December, the king had ordered Zieten to march in pursuit of the enemy with a considerable body of men, composed of three battalions of grenadiers, * three regiments of infantry, ** three of dragoons, *** four of hussars, **** and two free battalions, those of Angenelli and Kalben.

Notwithstanding the defeat and dispersion of the enemy, this division was not equivalent to the force which they still possessed. After having, two days before, exhibited a front consisting of more than eighty thousand men, they were now, according to the calculation of general de Tempelhof, reduced to nine thousand infantry, and twenty-eight thousand cavalry; a number, however, still superiour to Zieten's detachment.

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* Wedel, Manteuffel, Heyden.

** Asseburg, Bornstedt, Meyerink.

*** Czettritz, Normann, Bayreuth.

**** Werner, Seidlitz, Puttkammer, Zieten.

But supposing them upon an equality (as a flying army loses much when compared with the army that pursues it), the Austrians would have been able to take post, and to cope with the Prussians, had Zieten left them time for such purpose. On this occasion it was that he displayed his knowledge of the country, and of the art of war in general. As soon as he foresaw a position which might prove advantageous to the enemy, he drove them forwards to hinder them from taking possession of it. Whenever they had any defiles to pass, he took care to occupy them beforehand; so that in order to gain Bohemia, they were not able to take the route they had intended to take, but such only as the Prussian general prescribed them. Prince Charles had entertained hopes of being able to halt under the ramparts of Schweidnitz. He marched for that purpose through Boraw, but Zieten, who followed him over the Lohe and thro' Gross-Mochber, prevented him from taking post there; and driving him continually before him, he was enabled, in the space of a fortnight (from the 7th till the 22nd of December) to recover all

Sile-

Silesia from the Austrians, and to compel them to repass the mountains.

It is not possible to make a just estimate of their loss in troops, artillery, baggage, and military stores. An historian of the time has calculated it at nine thousand men, and three thousand waggons. Other writers affirm it to be still more considerable. Zieten had no leisure to make any estimate; he considered himself as having done nothing while any thing yet remained to be done; and looking before him only, he kept no reckoning with the past.

To satisfy the views of the king, and to pursue the enemy to the utmost, he was compelled to put the vigour of his troops to the severest test, and to require miracles at their hands. They had been long and incessantly engaged in marches and encounters, while the rest of the army were enjoying the sweets of repose; his infantry could barely find accommodations in the villages on their route; his cavalry, ill-encamped, were exposed to all the incle-

inclemency of the season, and during fifteen days the detachment had only one day of rest. It will appear from the correspondence of the king, which we shall lay before our readers, that the general, touched at the hardships which his men underwent, had ventured to make representations to his majesty, and the more so, as they were frequently in want of bread. At the same time, it will be seen, that being obliged to steel his heart to the feelings of compassion, which would have retarded the progress of the operations, he at length entered into the views of the monarch; and that, exerting himself anew, he was enabled to impart fresh ardour to his troops, to reconcile them to the endurance of hunger, cold, sickness, and the most painful privations.

It were to be wished that an accurate account could be given of the various marches, posts, and dispositions of this pursuit, which the general projected and varied from day to day. But the rapidity of the operations precluded all possibility of noting the details; and the memory of those who had a part in them

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soon became confined to vague and confused ideas of what had passed, and unable to form any regular picture of that busy period. This deficiency is the more to be regretted, as M. de Tempelhof, in his afore-mentioned history, wishes for exact memoirs relative to this expedition, which, as he declares, would be equally instructive in the operations of regular as well as desultory war.

When the king at length became in peaceable possession of Silesia, and enabled Zieten's troops to partake of the general repose of the army; when he had leisure to estimate the loss of the enemy after the re-taking of Breslaw, Schweidnitz, and of the whole province, it was found to amount to sixty-six thousand men, exclusive of the garrison of Lignitz which had obtained free egress. Besides these, upwards of three hundred officers, among whom were several generals, had fallen into the hands of the Prussians. In the battle itself and during the pursuit, the king and Zieten had taken twenty-eight thousand prisoners. To the foregoing estimate may be added

six thousand deserters. The number of cannon taken, amounted to one hundred and seventeen; and that of the standards and colours to fifty-one. The Austrian army had lost, in the battle, upwards of seven thousand men, killed and wounded, and that of the Prussians, five thousand.

Such much success did not, however, satisfy the vast desires of Frederick, whose genius, superiour to good, as well as to ill fortune was subservient to its own impulse only. Of this we shall find proof in the following correspondence, the notes to which, in the kings own hand, it may be observed, are particularly valuable.

Letters from the king to Zieten.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I have just received your report, and I have the satisfaction to tell you that every thing you have done has been well done. I, however, urgently expect you to push and harass the enemy, and not give them a moment's rest. If they take the road to Moravia, you will draw

draw your bread from Neisse; if they turn towards Schweidnitz, the country must furnish you with that article. Above all things, I recommend you to pursue them to the utmost extremity, without allowing them time to take breath or to recover themselves. I am willing to believe your men are fatigued, and even harassed; but, do not forget that the Austrians are ten times more so, and that it behoves you to push and pursue them incessantly till you have driven them beyond their mountains. I am your affectionate king,

Head-Quarters at Durian, December the 9th, 1757. Frederick."

In his own hand.

"My dear Zieten, at the present moment, one day of fatigue will procure us a hundred of rest. March on, general; never quit the saddle; keep continually at the heels of the enemy." Frederick.

Letter II.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten. I learn every where, as well from deserters as from

from the most undoubted authority, that the Austrian army is not only in full retreat, but in the greatest disorder. The consternation which prevails through every part of it, is owing to the vigour of your pursuit. I exhort you to follow them without the least relaxation and to drive them before you to the foot of their own mountains. Should they take shelter under the cannon of Schweidnitz, you will of course be unable to dislodge them; but, the moment they resume their march, you must keep at their heels till you drive them upon their frontiers. Colonel de Werner will assist you, and you will furnish him with a few squadrons of hussars for that purpose, together with a free battalion and a few companies of grenadiers. In a word, do whatever you consider proper to be done in order to drive the enemy beyond their mountains. Should they make a stand under the ramparts of Schweidnitz, you must nevertheless detach Werner with a party of hussars, grenadiers, and light infantry: he is acquainted with the country, and will block up the passes or force the enemy to gain them before him. Observe,

serve, that if we push them to their frontiers, and still further; if we do them all the mischief we can this year, and thereby totally dispirit them, we shall have so much the less business to do the next; whether the war continue, or the issue of the present campaign bring on a peace. For my own part, after having reduced Breslaw (which will not take up more than three or four days) I shall follow you with the army, and accompany you till we come to the frontiers of Bohemia. I again recommend the contents of this letter to your serious consideration, and I am ever your affectionate king,

Head-quarters at Durian,
December 10th, 1757."

(In his majesty's own hand.)

"The safety of the state depends on your zeal. Frederick."

Letters III. and IV. without dates. *

"Still keep at the heels of the Austrians. Or-

* They are both in the king's own handwriting, and shew how near and had he pursuit of the enemy at heart.

Order the regiments of Szekuly and Burnitz to advance to Freibourg: follow up the enemy beyond Landshut. Lose not a moment; pursue them incessantly. The country must furnish your bread.

Frederick."

"My dear Zieten.

Press the enemy closely. If they threaten resistance at Bogendorf, send Werner, with all speed, with two battalions to the mountains. They must be driven upon Trautenaw. I will not allow them to retain an inch of ground in Silesia; and in passing the mountains, they must lose artillery, baggage-waggons, and a great number of deserters. Keep continually behind thim. Occupy the post of Landshut if you are able, and, in that case, Schweidnitz and Lignitz will be insulated. Adieu!

I trust, I shall have done here in four or five days.

Frederick."

Let-

Letter V.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I received your two reports of the 14th; and, in answer to which, I observe, that it appears to be the intention of the enemy to remain some time at Freibourg, in order to allow the garrison and magazines of Lignitz time to join them. From thence, I have reason to believe, they will retreat to Schweinhaus or still further. They must, however, be turned. Situated as you now are, I do not imagine you would be able to cut off their supplies from Lignitz, or to promote desertion. Send some detachments to Strigaw, to Jauer, etc. by which means you will annoy them more effectually than you now can do. Should general de Meyer do his duty, and you be able to send him a reinforcement, I am fully persuaded, that a part of the magazines will fall into your hands, and that the garrison of Lignitz will be cut off. I am etc.

Head-quarters at Durian,
December 15th, 1757. Frederick."

Letter VI.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten-

I inclose you a letter written by the prince of Lorrain to the governor of Lignitz, which has been just intercepted, and which furnishes us with very useful intelligence.

You will see by this letter both the plan and the disposition of the enemy. I believe you are strong enough to dislodge Bakowsky and Palasti; and I therefore desire you to give your whole attention to that object, to act with the utmost vigour, and to terminate affairs with all possible speed, agreeably to my wishes and intentions. I am, etc.

Head-quarters at Durian,
September 18th, 1757. Frederick."

Letter from prince Charles of Lorrain, inclosed in the foregoing.

"Colonel.

The advanced season no longer permitting the army to remain encamped, and obliging me to procure it rest and security as far as lies in my power, the troops will march to-morrow

row to Landshut, and I shall take care, as far as it may be practicable, to maintain the communication with Lignitz. I apprize you of this, colonel, and at the same time recommend you to keep a good watch, and particularly to confer, as long as circumstances will permit, with lieutenant-colonel de Palasti, who is posted at Hirschberg, and who has informed me, that he has fortunately introduced a good provision of cattle and salt into Lignitz. He may perhaps furnish you with other articles of consumption, if you are enabled to keep up the communication with him and facilitate the means of supplying you. On my departure from hence, I shall leave lieutenant-general de Bacow with a considerable detachment to cover the country and maintain correspondences. You will dispatch yours by the hands of colonel de Palasti, who will deliver them to general de Bacow, from whom I shall duly receive them. Finally, colonel, I earnestly recommend the good defence of the post committed to your care; hoping that you will [illegible] of surrendering it, unless circumstances, which may screen you from

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from all military responsibility, should authorize such measure. * I am, as ever, colonel,

. Head-quarters at Freibourg,

December 15th, 1757. your devoted

Charles of Lorrain."

On the back of the letter from Zieten to the king, dated from Neudorf, December 17th, 1757, his majesty had written the following lines in his own hand.

"Tis well. — Bacow is at Freibourg; — he must driven from thence. An Hungarian occupies Hirschberg; — he must be dislodged. As for the garrison of Schweidnitz, it must be observed by a body of cavalry.

Frederick."

Letter VII.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I am happy to see by your report of the

21st,

* The style of this letter, which has been preserved as far as a translation would admit of, forms a striking contrast with that of the king's letters.

21st, that things go on to my wish, and that you continue to push the enemy, and will be able to make them evacuate Silesia. We shall be on the 27th at Strigaw, Jauer, and in their environs: we shall there see what is to be done with regard to Lignitz. I should be glad if you could let me know at Strigaw, towards that time, what progress you shall then have made. I am your very affectionate

Breslaw, December 23rd, 1757.

Frederick."

Letter VIII.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I am well satisfied with the manner in which you attacked the rear-guard and drove the enemy out of Silesia. All would have been still better, had you not remained so long at Reichenbach. * I hereby charge you with the command of the *cordon* along the frontiers of Bohemia. Begin to form the chain with your own

* Zieten had halted there but one day, out of fifteen, which were taken up in continual marches.

own battalions and the free ones. I shall instantly send you Noble's. You will detach major de Kleist to Goldberg with Szekuly's battalion, to dislodge the enemy from thence. I have just charged Fouqué with the blockade of Schweidnitz. The regiments of Puttkammer and Seidlitz will remain at their post. Yours and Warnerey's shall go into winter-quarters. Meyer, with the regiment of Bayreuth's dragoons, shall continue in service. Withdraw by degrees the regiments of Normann, Czettritz, and Wartenberg. Recruit your own, and render it complete. I shall furnish the horses; they are all ready. Recommend the same measure to the other regiments. The three regiments of dragoons, which you draw from the line, you will post between Hohengiersdorf, Ober-Mögendorf and Kunzendorf. I am, etc. etc.

Frederick."

Zieten's answer.

"I humbly thank your majesty for having been pleased to intrust me with the command of the frontiers of Bohemia. I shall do my utmost

utmost to render myself worthy of this new mark of confidence. I beg to request your majesty to inform me exactly of the two points which are to begin and end the chain of posts I am to establish. I have one free battalion with me, which is that of Angenelli: de Katten's forms part of the detachment of Werner, as I formerly reported to your majesty. I shall begin the chain with the battalion of Angenelli, the hussars, and the two companies of chasseurs, unless your majesty should give me different orders. I shall station major de Kleist at Goldberg with the battalion of Szekuly. Captain de Heinecke, of my own regiment, is at Löwenberg: I have heard no direct news of him.

With regard to my regiment as well as that of de Warnery, I wait your majesty's ultimate orders to send them into quarters. The regiments of Normann and Czettritz march from hence to-morrow, and will repair to Salzbrun, from whence the former will march the next day to Kunzendorf, and the latter, on the same day, to Ober-Mögendorf. I shall

in-

inform the regiment of Wartenberg, which is still at Reichenbach, of your majesty's commands, and that corps shall forthwith march to Hohen-Giersdorf.

I have detached general de Czettritz from hence with the regiments of dragoons, till your majesty decides whether or not general de Stechow shall remain here; which step may be speedily rectified, as the distance is no more than three miles. *

General de Fouqué having disposed of the battalion of Meyerink to reinforce the garrison of Reichenbach, I beg your majesty will decide whether I am to recall that battalion in order that general de Wedel's regiment be united. I shall neglect nothing that is necessary for the purpose of completing my own regiment with all possible speed.

Colonel de Werner informed me on the 19th,

* German miles, containing about 4¾ English miles each.

19th, that he had not been able to effect his purpose on account of the snows, and because general de Janus still occupies the mountains on this side of Braunaw; that, from Neisse, where he has taken post, he was on the point of marching to attack the corps of Simbschen at Neustadt; and that general de Kleist was about to give him a reinforcement of infantry. He has besides, Heyden's battalion of grenadiers with him.

Landshut, J. J. de Zieten."
December 25th, 1757.

The king's answer, written on the back of the letter.

"We have not yet time to provide for the frontiers. Let us first see if we can do any thing at Schatzler. The magazines of Trautenaw must not be suffered to subsist; they must be burnt or taken, or the enemy must be driven to the necessity of setting fire to them. As for the other regiments and what relates to the *cordon*, I shall settle their destination after the surrender of Lignitz. Every thing

thing at Reichenbach must remain in its present state. Werner is at Jägerndorf. He is well there; the estates he has in that part of the country are, in some measure, the cause of his march. As soon as Lignitz capitulates, I shall settle the posts. I must speak with Wedel, that I may give him the necessary detail.

Frederick."

Letter IX.

(In the king's own hand.)

"I have just learnt that the Austrians have a considerable magazine at Trautenaw. Were it in your power to take possession of it, you would crown your exploits. If you cannot effect this by force, have it set on fire, though it should cost you a thousand ducats. Bring this about either by force or address; one of the two. The thing is very important, and would hinder the enemy from assembling in force in those parts the next spring. Adieu.

Strigaw, December 25th.

Frederick."

Letter

Letter X.

(In the king's own hand.)

"My dear general.

I am well satisfied with the news you have just sent me on the subject of the enemy. I should, however, have been much more so, had you been able to have undertaken any thing against Schatzlar. All the defiles lying beyond that place, you have nothing to fear from the cavalry. Spare no expence in procuring good information or in gaining over such people as may be of service to you. You need only mention what sum you want, and you shall be duly supplied therewith. I am your very affectionate,

Strigaw, December 26th, 1757.

Frederick."

Letter XI.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I thank you for your good wishes, and in return, I wish you and your whole corps a happy new year.

As

As Schweidnitz is now invested on all sides, and is in want of many necessaries, I imagine the enemy will attempt to throw in succour or provisions, and I enjoin you to frustrate any such enterprises. I am told they have six thousand men at Braunaw; you will learn whether this be true. They are in force in the neighbourhood of Trautenaw; and in taking the direction of Böhmisch-Friedland, they may make an attempt against Löwenberg. These are the three points which merit your attention. Your regiment will inform you of what passes near Löwenberg. If in reality, the enemy should attempt any thing, there will be a movement in that quarter; they will undoubtedly make feints, appear to advance upon other points, and mask their operations. Do all you can to discover their real views; and take care not to be deceived by false appearances. In case of an attempt, I shall give you a list of the regiments and their quarters, that you may be able to procure reinforcements whenever you may want them. The quarters of Hirschberg, Löwenberg, Bunzlaw and Frankenstein, will, in particular, be

in

in readiness to second you at the shortest notice. You will continue to give me an account of every thing that passes, and, above all, should any thing of this nature happen.

I am etc. etc.

Strigaw, December 30th, 1757.

Frederick."

Two things are observable in the foregoing correspondence; the first, that in the short space of time that had elapsed since the battle of Leuthen, Zieten had done much in the pursuit of the enemy and for the safety of Silesia; the second, that in spite of all his efforts and the efforts of the corps under his command, the king still expected and required more at his hands, and that, although his majesty was sparing in his praises, he was far from being so in his censures, since he considered the halt at Reichenbach as a reprehensible measure. Reichenbach was, however, no Capua. It was merely twenty-four hours' interruption of an hitherto uninterrupted pursuit. It was a moment of rest, absolutely necessary to enable both men and horses

ses to continue and complete their task. Zieten, moreover, executed the orders of the king in their fullest extent, excepting perhaps what related to the magazine of Trautenaw, to which it is not certain that he set fire; and had he not acquitted himself of the commission, so far was it from being a matter of reproach, that it can only be said, that, accustomed as he was to look the enemy in the face, he was ill fitted for a kind of warfare, in which courage was of no use, and which, besides, savoured more of barbarity than heroism.

Zieten, as the reader has seen, had undergone incredible hardships in the course of this campaign; yet he had still more toils to encounter during the winter. He had now the command of the *cordon* posted over the chain of mountains between Schmiedeberg and Landshut, which was composed of nine battalions and twenty squadrons. In consideration of their services and the loss they had sustained, the king had allowed Zieten's own hussars and those of Warnerey to go into winter-quarters. The generals, however, availed themselves but little

little of this interval of repose; they were almost incessantly employed in repairing the havoc which four bloody battles and a series of daily encounters had made in their respective regiments. Zieten's, among the others, was completely recruited, and, at the return of spring, the whole army exhibited a formidable front.

The rest of the winter passed away unmarked by any military event. The corps which Zieten commanded was, in the fullest extent of the term, a corps of observation. Frequent patrols and reconnoitring parties, at the head of which the general appeared in person, fully convinced him of the immobility of the enemy, and enabled him to encourage the hopes of the king relative to the blockade of Schweidnitz, which had been undertaken by M. de Fouqué. We are in possession of one letter only of the king's, written at this period, and we shall insert it, to shew to what degree his majesty was satisfied with his general.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I am much obliged to you for the news you

give me in your letter of the 21st. Every thing you say is very much to the purpose; yet I still apprehend a movement on the part of the enemy to succour Schweidnitz, or to fall on some of our quarters. Let us therefore be upon our guard: let us endeavour to discover, and to foil their intentions. My presence will perhaps be necessary, and I shall not fail being with you as soon as I shall be able to gain further information. In the mean while, it appears to me necessary, that beginning with Silberberg, you send out your patrols as far as the defiles of Braunaw, for the purpose of reconnoitring the ground well, or at least to discover the motions of the enemy, so that general de Fouqué might receive instant information thereof. You will take care to do whatever is necessary, and to make frequent report; particularly relative to the least change on the part of the enemy. I am your affectionate king,

Breslaw, February 23rd, 1758.

Frederick."

(In

(In his own hand.)

"The most essential point is to avoid being deceived by false appearances. I am of opinion that the enemy will make some attempts in the neighbourhood of Trautenaw. Of Braunaw, Friedland, and Silberberg, we must not lose sight for a moment.

Frederick."

The Austrian generals came not to the relief of Schweidnitz, which after having sustained a regular siege, surrendered in the middle of the month of April. Zieten had covered the operations on the side of Pfaffendorf, Johannsdorf, and Weissbach: but before we transport the reader with him into Moravia, where, as it is well known, the king entered after the taking of the above place; we shall mention an event which occurred in his regiment, and with regard to which he acted in a manner worthy of himself, and perfectly conformable to his character.

We have already stated, that in the battle of Leuthen, one of Zieten's cornets had taken

the remains of a whole regiment prisoner, and that the king, by way of recompensing so brilliant an exploit, had given him the military cross and named him captain upon the spot. This young man, who afterwards displayed considerable talents in his profession, but who being at that time very deficient in education and experience, was so intoxicated with his good fortune as not to know how to enjoy it with moderation, and he soon exposed himself to the risk of losing every advantage to be derived from it.

Considering it sufficient to be a captain of royal creation, and, without announcing himself in such capacity either to his general or to any of the officers of the staff; — without waiting to be informed in what regiment he was to exercise his new rank; he made choice of the squadron to which he belonged for such purpose, and declared to lieutenant de Stankart, that he was now at the head of it, and that the lieutenant must give place to him, and receive his orders. M. de Stankart, inured to the service, and rigid on points of sub-

subordination, refused to consider him in any other light than that of his cornet. The new-created captain was much enraged at this opposition, yet put off all further discussion till after the battle, when the business degenerated into a duel. Fortune now abandoned her favourite, and he was severely wounded. For the purpose of facilitating his cure, he was charged with a mission and despatched to Berlin, where his irregularities in a little time became the subject of complaint, and forced his general to represent to the king, that it would be proper to suspend his new commission for a while, and to degrade him to his former rank. His majesty, in compliance with the general's advice, gave immediate orders, that, for the present, the young officer must content himself with his cross, and, that to regain his rank, he must wait his turn and the favourable reports of his general.

The affair made much noise. The example, indeed, was an instructive one. If on the one hand, such bold and decisive proceeding inspired sentiments of fearful respect for the general

eral who had adopted it; on the other hand, the disinterestedness of his motives and the purity of his intentions secured him the love and confidence of the whole army. Nor was this all, however incredible what we have to add might appear. The young man, who certainly, as we have already seen, was not wanting either in ambition or spirit and whose self-love had been so deeply wounded, withdrew neither his respect nor his attachment from the general who had thus stopped him in his splendid career. Instead of quitting the regiment and entering into some other corps of light horse, in which he might have made a more rapid advancement, he was not in the least inclined to throw off the authority of Zieten, and thus made ample reparation for errors into which his want of education and his ungovernable temper had thrown him. Faithful to his general and to his superiour officers, he afforded an example of orderly conduct which gained him the affection and esteem of his comrades, and which afterwards caused his exploits to be attributed to personal merit, which jealousy might otherwise have considered

dered as the result of good fortune only. Time confirmed his reputation, and cemented his generous union with Zieten. An army which produces such models, and which encourages such emulation, must force envy itself to declare it invincible.

The king having quitted Schweidnitz in order to invade Moravia, Zieten at first covered his majesty's departure by a position which disabled the enemy from annoying him; after this, being joined by the corps under the command of major-general de Zieten, * they began their march together. The former, on the 4th of May, arriving at Neustadt, found the army at Schmirsitz, and protected the king's quarters ** during the siege of Ollmütz which was carried on by marshal Keith.

The

* This general lost his life in the battle of Frankfort in the year 1759. He distinguished himself in this march by repulsing the vigorous and repeated attacks of general de Laudon and general de Buckow at Gottesberg.

** At Prosnitz.

The Austrian army, after having hung upon the rear of that of the king, encamped in Moravia opposite to it. Availing himself of his superiority in light troops, marshal Daun had distributed them into various detachments, which he posted round the Prussian army to harass it; and, at the same time, he carefully avoided coming to any serious engagement. The corps of Saint-Ignon occupied a position at Preraw, extremely incommodions to the Prussians and very convenient for himself, as by affording him a communication with the surrounding divisions, it preserved one with the fortress, into which marshal Daun was, by such means, enabled to throw two thousand men on the 22nd of May, unimpeded and even unobserved by general de Retzow who commanded in those parts. The king justly apprehending that Saint-Ignon would open a direct communication with the place, and take the corps of Retzow which he was threatening, his majesty ordered Zieten to approach Preraw, to reconnoitre the position, and to meditate on the means necessary for dislodging the enemy.

Zie-

Zieten broke up his camp on the same day, * at noon. He passed the Morava with three battalions of grenadiers, two regiments of cavalry, and nine hundred hussars. After being reinforced by Restow's corps, he advanced upon Preraw, through Grosser-Teinitz, Krzmann and Kockor; and, in order to secure a retreat, he left detachments of infantry in every village and in each defile. These precautions were not useless. General de Saint-Ignon, who had been apprized of his march, and whose particular orders, as well as his own advantage, required him to avoid an engagement, had left only a feeble detachment of hussars and Cravats at Preraw; and in spite of the superiority of an almost inaccessible position, defended by dikes, marshes, and a river, he withdrew with the rest of his troops to the heights of Bichnow: he moreover sent his baggage to Kropin.

In this retreat, Zieten imagined he perceived a snare. He might have easily dislodged the Cra-

* May the 22nd.

Cravats, and pursued the Austrian general; he was, however, unwilling to hazard the attempt, and was apprehensive of being cut off from the main army. Had he advanced too far, he would have left the strong fortress of Tebetscha behind him; and there was a considerable garrison in it. He was, moreover, liable to be turned, on his leaving Kropin and Kremsir, by some strong detachments which lay in those quarters; and he would have exposed, perhaps sacrificed, his men to no purpose; a measuse he always was averse to. His reconnoitring having been effected, the enemy dislodged, and his junction with Retzow operated, he fell back upon Ollmütz, and encamping in the plains of Bistrowa and Brezcz, he shut up the place on that side. Saint-Ignon resumed his former position which now became less alarming.

We are now coming to one of the most trying periods of the life and the various campaigns of our hero. Hitherto, properly speaking, he had been never beat; at least, the corps he had commanded, whether on particular

cular expeditions or in pitched battles, if they had not conquered, had ever preserved their well-earned reputation in the midst of the general defeat. For Laudon, the task of checking him in his splendid career was reserved, and, by a masterly stroke, to overcome him with superiour forces. This defeat brought on the loss of a convoy consisting of between two and three thousand waggons, loaded with provisions, military stores, and arms for the king's camp, and caused the raising of the siege.

This convoy set off on the 21st of June from Neisse and from Cosel. Colonel de Mosel who escorted it, was at the head of twelve battalions, composed, for the far greater part, of raw recruits and convalescents, together with a body of twelve hundred horse. The less the enemy were supposed to be privy to the expedition, the more were they able to conceal from the Prussians the measures that were taken to defeat it. It was, indeed, almost impossible that they should not succeed in their designs against the convoy, acquaint-

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ed as they were with the ground, and having mountains, rivers, and every inhabitant of the country in their favour.

Colonel de Mosel being arrived at Trappaw, passed the frontiers on the 20th of June. Marshal Daun now availing himself of the information he had gathered on his way, ordered general de Laudon to gain Hoff by a circuitous route, and to lie in ambush there, while general de Siskowitz should pass the Morava, join Saint-Ignon at Preraw, and keep himself concealed in the forest of Alt-Lieba, until the moment fixed upon for the attack. Furthermore, the marshal, with a view of diverting the king's attention to another point, made several motions with the main army. He reconnoitred the position of the Prussians, broke up his camp, and, drawing nearer to them, appeared to be making ready to give them battle, and took every necessary measure to keep them occupied.

The king being informed by Zieten's patrols, that Saint-Ignon had quitted the post of Preraw

raw to march further on, concluded that the Austrians intended to attack the convoy. He was, however, far from foreseeing the whole extent of the plan. Ill served by his spies, as is commonly the case in a country devoted to the enemy, he was unacquainted with the march of the other columns: yet the movement of Saint-Ignon was alone sufficient to excite his apprehensions, and he did every thing in his power to avert the impending mischief.

To this end, he despatched Zieten to colonel de Mosel, and gave him two battalions of grenadiers, two regiments of cuirassiers, and six hundred dragoons, together with orders to reinforce himself on his way with the corps of Retzow. The evening before, Zieten had detached colonel de Werner with a battalion and five hundred horse. Having rejoined them at Giebaw, he learnt that the colonel had not been able to advance further on. At the same time, a heavy cannonade was heard, its smoke was perceived, and there was no longer any doubt that colonel de Mosel was attacked by the

the enemy. In consequence of this, Zieten's corps halted at Giebaw; the baggage was sent back, was fallen upon by the light cavalry of the Austrians, and rescued by the valour of Seidlitz's hussars. In the mean while, Zieten, who had followed colonel de Werner, at the head of a regiment of cuirassiers, supported him in so vigorous a manner, that they joined Mosel towards the evening, who after the encounter had advanced as far as Neudörfel. It was now the 28th of June. On the preceding day, the latter, on account of the broken roads and the slow progress of the convoy, had found himself under the necessity of making halt at Bautsch, to wait for the arrival of two thirds of the waggons, and to send back to Troppaw whatever he conceived the army in a situation of dispensing with for the present moment.

These untoward circumstances favoured the projects of Laudon. His division had time to advance, to occupy the passages, and to intercept the communications. The arrival of Werner at Giebaw, sufficiently indicating that succour

was

was at hand, Laudon had accelerated his march, in order to post troops on the hills which commanded the defiles between Bautsch and Alt-Lieba, through which the convoy had to pass. He had likewise thrown his Hungarian infantry and Cravats into the woods, and stationed a body of dragoons and hussars in the plain, in order to make an attack on all sides at once.

Colonel de Mosel beginning his march on the same day, found Laudon in the defiles of Bautsch. He forced the passage, formed beyond the defiles, drove out the infantry and the Cravats, carried a battery with the bayonet, and after having taken two hundred prisoners, he repulsed Laudon as far as Bahr with the loss of five hundred men. When the engagement was over, M. de Mosel sent his aide-de-camp, de Beville, * to the king with a circumstantial account of his success; and continuing his march, he joined

* Now lieutenant-general, and governor of Neuchatel.

joined Zieten at Neudörfel, as has been already mentioned.

The enemy were thrown into disorder; but the convoy was likewise in the same condition. During the engagement, the guides and their assistants arrived at Troppaw in the utmost confusion. The Austrian hussars taking advantage of the disorder, began to pillage and destroy the provisions. The Prussian cavalry came up too late to prevent the havoc; they, however, put the enemy to flight, but the mischief was already done.

The troops having reached Neudörfel, the night of the 28th was employed in collecting the wrecks of the convoy; not one half of which was recovered. The guides having abandoned their horses; the horses, which were spent with fatigue, were unable to get clear of the deep roads; the fugitives were already at a great distance from the spot. Zieten had taken the command upon himself: it was necessary to re-establish good order, to give time for repose to both men and horses; to re-organize the

the convoy; — and in this manner the 29th was taken up.

This new delay furnished the enemy with an opportunity of making a fresh attack. In the former one, Laudon alone had acted, as on his being informed of the approach of Zieten and the succour that accompanied him, he had been beforehand with him, in consequence of a forced march. At present, that able general being reinforced with the corps of Serbelloni, placed himself in ambush between Lieba and Dohmstädtel, in the woods that skirted the road.

The Prussians began to file along. The wary Austrian still kept his position. Already the head of the column and the convoy, under the command of M. de Krockow, began to spread out on the plain, and the centre which followed considered themselves in perfect safety; when all on a sudden, the enemy rushed between them, and occupying the outlet, began a furious engagement, which Zieten sustained with his accustomed bravery; an en-

gagement, which, seconded as he was by the valour of his troops, would have turned out in his favour (as several hostile battalions had already given way, and lost their artillery) had not Laudon, by turning, and surrounding the rear of the convoy, changed the face of affairs and decided the victory.

The Prussians had to contend, at the same time, with the difficulties of the ground and a twofold attack. Their separate situation was, moreover, in their disfavour, as well as their having a convoy to protect, and an enemy to cope with. Their muskets too were rendered useless by a continual fall of rain, while those of the Austrians had been preserved dry till the very moment of action. Every circumstance was in favour of the latter, who did not neglect to take ample advantage thereof. The convoy was dispersed and plundered, the powder set fire to, and the military stores and provisions destroyed. The advanced-guard of general de Krockow, consisting of two hundred and fifty waggons, solely escaped, and arrived in safety at the

king's

king's camp. Zieten had made a last desperate effort. He threw himself, at the head of a party of his troops, upon the enemy; but not being strong enough to force his way through them, and being cut off from the rest of the division, he escaped with much difficulty to Troppaw, with the remains of his small party.

History has honoured the memory of the gallant warriors who lost their lives in this encounter. We shall confine ourselves to a single instance of patriotic bravery which commands our admiration and calls forth our sensibility. Of nine hundred new recruits, all in the flower of their age and the vigour of life, who were enlisted for the purpose of completing the regiment of prince Ferdinand, not one hundred survived the affray. The rest, together with the gallant officer who commanded them, were left dead on the spot. General de Tempelhof speaking of them in his History of the Seven-years' war, * ob-

serves

* See vol. II. page 92.

serves that "if they were unable to conquer, they at least knew how to die."

The conduct of Zieten has both its censurers and its panegyrists. The former blame him for having halted at Neudörfel for the purpose of collecting the scattered convoy. According to their opinion, he should have gained the defile of Dohmstädtel, have tempted the enemy to follow him, and have taken advantage of the plain in case of an engagement. The advocates of Zieten reply, that he could not have maintained his post at Dohmstädtel, even had he been able to occupy the defile; that a string of waggons, in a mountainous country, traversed by a single road, takes up a considerable line; that a convoy, liable to be attacked on every point, requires a numerous and extended escort, and that by compressing the troops, the baggage must have been sacrificed. Should it be said, that on the day on which Zieten halted, Laudon and Seskowitz had not formed a junction, and could not have attacked him; it would not have been the less true, that by marching onward,

ward, he would have rendered the convoy incapable of following him, and thus abandoned it to the mercy of the enemy. Besides, he was unacquainted with the combined movements of the two generals; and he expected to have been harassed by the flying-troops that infested the route, against whom he conceived he should make the more effectual resistance by distributing his men along the file of waggons.

However it might have been, it were to be wished that, impartial and well-informed as he ever was in his judgment of his own exploits and his own errors, he had himself furnished the documents necessary for the elucidation of this affair. In default of this, we must refer the dispute to such, as being the most capable of deciding it, will doubtless pass the most equitable judgment.

The consequences of this disastrous event are well known. The king raised the siege of Ollmütz; a siege which had proved the more irksome and laborious, as it had been neces-

necessary to draw all his subsistence from Silesia, and as every convoy had been in continual risk of falling into the hands of the Austrians. There is, moreover, reason to believe, that the enemy would not have allowed the king sufficient time to complete the siege of this place or to have taken due advantage of his conquest, since storms were now rising against him in various parts of his dominions, and to quell which his immediate presence was necessary. One of the most enlightened of all Frederick's critics, * and so much the more worthy of credit in the present case, as he was one of the king's most zealous admirers, asserts, that by his expedition into Moravia, and the ill-advised siege of Ollmütz, that monarch had most assuredly furnished his enemies with arms against himself; that he had lost sight of the advantages he might have derived from the victory of Leuthen, and, in a word, that he was ignorant (of what is now no

* This estimable writer is only known by the vague appellation of "the Austrian Veteran."

no secret) that the Austrian army, which was entirely disorganized during the winter of 1757, availed itself of the time the king lost before Ollmütz in order to recover its former complement and vigour.

Zieten, cut off at Dohmstädtel from the rest of the convoy, arrived at Troppaw with a handful of troops, but did not long remain there. The king having taken his march through Bohemia after the raising of the siege, the general had orders to join his majesty at Neisse.

It was about this time (the beginning of July) that the Russians, who were advancing by quick marches towards the frontiers, were expected to enter Silesia. Zieten, after having reinforced several garrisons, remained until the 24th of July at Neisse, and then rejoined the king's army at Skaltitsch.

At this place he found his regiment, whose joy at his arrival was extreme. His own was not less so when he was apprized, that during

ing the siege, and on the retreat, that regiment had acquitted itself with its usual eclat, and that it was entirely owing to it, that the king had not been more closely pressed by the corps of Laudon, which hung upon his rear during the above-mentioned retreat. The regiment had suffered much; the courage of the troops had proved very destructive to them. Among a thousand instances of valour, one example of intrepid fidelity of which we shall here make mention, is particularly worthy of the reader's notice. During the siege, a private hussar, of the name of Lange, keeping sentinel, alone and unmounted, before the tent of the major of the regiment, was attacked by several troopers at once, and not only refused to yield, but began and sustained a most unequal combat with them. When his sabre was at length forced from him, he continued to defend the entrance of the tent with his carabine. He finally remained master of the field, and though severely cut and mangled, happily none of his wounds proved mortal. His carabine bore upwards of twenty honourable marks, acquired in this singular fray.

fray. The nocturnal surprises that took place at Weissen-Kösteritz during three successive nights, had deprived the regiment of a considerable number of men, together with an excellent officer. *

Zieten and Seidlitz, at the head of their cavalry, covered the king's retreat. Scarcely had the monarch honourably made his way through the defiles of Moravia and traversed the mountains of Bohemia, when he flew to the succour of his country to the extremity of the electorate of Brandenburg, now menaced by the Russians, who, after having burnt the town of Custrin, were proceeding on to the heart of the Prussian dominions.

This was one of the most critical situations in which the king had been involved during the whole war; yet his courage sustained, and his genius extricated him. He detached fourteen thousand men from his army, and with these,

* Lieutenant de Jurgas.

these, he hastened to the relief of count Dohna, who was no longer able to cope with the more numerous forces of general de Fermor. The rest of the main army he intrusted to the command of the margrave Charles, to whom he gave orders to cover the frontiers of Silesia.

Marshal Daun, with whom the margrave had to contend, was meditating the vast design of forming a junction with the French army and with that of the circles of Germany; of attacking prince Henry, the king's brother; of forcing him to repass the Elbe, and of making himself master of that river, while the Russians gained possession of the Oder, and the Swedes advanced upon Berlin, which he had marked out as the place of general rendezvous.

After having composed the king's advanced-guard and beat several detachments in his way, one of which he met at Politz, Zieten quitted his majesty (who now passed the Oder) and joining the division of general de Fouqué, he

he remained in Silesia under the command of the margrave.

The Prussian army was divided into three bodies. At the head of the first, the king beat the Russians at Zorndorf, on the 25th of August. With the second, prince Henry disputed every foot of ground with the French, and with the German circles, in Saxony; and with the third, the margrave Charles took so good a position, that he was able to cover both Silesia and the marquisate of Brandenburg at the same time.

Thus miscarried the formidable plan of the enemies of Frederick, after so many dear-bought victories, well-times marches, and skilful positions; and Prussia was indebted for its preservation to the joint efforts of its sovereign and his gallant army.

Zieten was now separated from his regiment. Both himself and that corps were distinguishing themselves in different countries. The regiment, which had accompanied the king

king, was of eminent service to his majesty in the battle of Zorndorf. After having overthrown the Russian cavalry, it made great havoc upon the infantry; and although twice surrounded by the enemy, the troops cut their way through them, and spread terror among the Cossacs who covered the retreat. On that famous day, the regiment gained new laurels at the expense of much blood, and among the killed and wounded, were reckoned twenty-one officers.

While the hussars were thus acquitting themselves in the plains of Zorndorf, their chief was engaged in Silesia, in a career, less brilliant, indeed, but in every respect as conducive to the public welfare. Of this, an intercepted letter from general Laudon to marshal Daun, affords ample proof. Daun, who was then in the neighbourhood of Meissen, acknowledges in this letter, that Zieten, whom he always found in his way, was at one time, harassing his rear, at another, impeding his march. Laudon's report was made a short time previous to the change of operations which

which took place in those parts, when Daun had been prevented by the king's return from forming a junction with the army of the German circles for the purpose of attacking prince Henry, and when Laudon had failed in his scheme of invading the marquisate of Brandenburg.

We shall not enter into any detail respecting the marches and counter-marches of the division under the command of Zieten, which consisted of eight battalions and fifteen squadrons. His principal rendezvous was Löwenburg, whence he kept the enemy in awe, and made such attacks as their various motions rendered necessary. At length the margrave and Zieten entered into a twofold plan of operation which the circumstances of the moment required. To this end, the former repaired to Silesia, and the latter to the electorate of Brandenburg; and while Laudon advanced toward the electorate, Zieten skirted the Bober, and hung upon his rear; but being obliged to halt during twenty-four hours in order to allow the provision-waggons time to keep up with

with him, he was not able to hinder that general from taking advantage of the delay and sending a detachment as far as Cottbus, Frankfort, and Peitz, to put the country under contribution. The critical situation in which the king then found himself could alone give any importance to this circumstance, which at any other period would have been confounded in the crowd of events; and even now, it was far from being attended with any disastrous consequences, as after the victory of Zorndorf, the king having detached prince Francis of Brunswick, that prince, assisted by Zieten's hussars and a single free battalion, cleared the whole country.

Zieten has been censured for having allowed the enemy to gain a march upon him. The charge is, however, more severe than just. The general had to choose between two evils, and he made choice of the lesser. What could he have expected from his troops, had he left them without bread in an exhausted country, far from the magazines of Schweidnitz, whence he drew his subsistence? The imperialists drew

drew theirs from Zittaw, which lay at no great distance from them; and besides, they foraged in Lusatia, and their flying-corps were more expeditious than the Prussians in the transport of their convoys.

As soon as Zieten was furnished with a provision of bread, he continued his march * and advanced towards Güben, where he arrived the 29th. He dislodged the enemy from thence, pitched his camp at Lieberose on the 13th of September, and covered the marquisate of Brandenburg. For the space of two months he had the satisfaction of checking the progress of the victor of Dohmstädtel.

Nothing could be more difficult than this defensive kind of warfare; as, to the obligation of avoiding the possibility of a battle, was added the necessity of discovering the plans of the enemy, opposing their marches, throwing obstacles in their way, disputing every

* On the 25th of August.

every inch of ground with them, and, in a word, of tiring them out without venturing to take any repose himself.

Soon after this, the king hastened to the relief of his troops in Lusatia and Saxony. He had traversed the schemes of the Russians during a period of twelve months, and with a bold and skilful arm had broken that formidable colossus which threatened his country with destruction. On the 4th of September, his majesty had arrived at Gross-Dubritz, and forced the enemy to leave off acting on the offensive, and to reflect with regret on their having lost the only opportunity they had of laying waste the marquisate. Frederick found prince Henry entrenched with his small army at Gumig, coping with a body of a hundred thousand men, and, at the same time, covering both the Elbe and the capital of Saxony. In Silesia, his majesty found the margrave Charles encamped in the face of marshal Daun. He strove for a long time to force the latter from his strong post and to join battle, nor was he able to turn him before

before the beginning of the month of October. Daun then took the fine position of Kittlitz; and the king, the memorable camp of Hochkirchen. The army of the German circles being already withdrawn, the field remained clear for the two great powers.

The king's camp touched that of the enemy, who considered this security as a bravado, and began to meditate vengeance. Its open position was extremely perilous; every general was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and Zieten partook of their alarms. The king placed intire confidence in the reports of a spy, which having proved true in the first instances, lulled the monarch into a false security, and brought on the disasters he soon after experienced. Daun, who had detected this spy, compelled him to continue his reports to the Prussians and to lead them astray. He therefore informed them, that the marshal was in continual expectation of a surprise, that he was making mounds and entrenchments, and, in a word, that he confined himself to defensive measures, without

out forming the least plan of acting on the offensive.

The king's intention being, in fact, to surprise the marshal, these reports acquired a further degree of probability in his estimation; and it was scarcely possible for him to escape being deceived by them. The 14th of October was the day fixed upon for the execution of this plan. He indulged the most sanguine hopes, and even considered the success of it as infallible. Credulity encourages expectation. The hussars of Zieten had, however, perceived on the 15th, an extraordinary movement in the enemy's camp. Colonel de Seelen, their commanding officer having made instant report, the king, by way of precaution, forthwith ordered the troops to lie under arms; but observing that every thing remained quiet till the evening, and deluded by the false report of his spy, he ordered them to return into the camp. Zieten and Seidlitz did all in their power to undeceive him. They repaired to his tent, conjured him not to allow the troops to disarm, and communicated their apprehen-

sions

sions and suspicions. The king remained unmoveable. Desirous of preparing the troops for the night of the 14th, he was determined they should take sufficient rest on the preceding day, and he furthermore gave orders that the cavalry should be unsaddled.

The latter order particularly concerned Ziethen who commanded that part of the army. The general was now under no small embarrassment. On one hand, he considered what he owed to the king; on the other, what he owed to his country. In obeying the one, he would expose the other to danger. He was, however, able to reconcile those opposite duties; or rather, consulting his own prudence and courage; venturing further than any other would have ventured; opposing the consequences which he foresaw to the responsibility which he took upon himself; and aware that the safety of the state would justify him before the tribunal of subordination, he took his resolution accordingly, and obeyed and disobeyed at the same time: — he ordered the horses to be unsaddled for half an

hour, and then gave orders for their being saddled again

This precaution saved the army. In a few hours after, the enemy fell upon the right wing of the camp, which they found unprepared for making any defence, as the troops were already asleep. A dreadful carnage ensued, and the consequences would have been fatal, had it not been for the intervention of Zieten and his cavalry, who flew to the succour of their comrades, and checked the progress of the enemy. They fought with incredible bravery, and afforded the Prussian battalions time to form in order of battle. The four regiments of Zieten, Czettritz, Schöneich, and Normann, performed prodigies of valour. They sustained the infantry, charged that of the enemy, seemed to fly, to multiply their numbers; and being seconded by a few battalions, were at length on the point of gaining the victory. But the foggy weather, the confusion, the general alarm, all of which were favourable to the Austrians, prevented the

the Prussians from duly recovering themselves and acting in concert.

It is not here the place to enter into the detail of this disastrous, yet glorious day: the reader will find ample information in the history of the times: but we thought it necessary to state the above anecdote, and to shew Zieten exposing himself to the anger of his sovereign, rather than to expose his prince and his country to ruin. If it was not in his power to lay the storm, he was at least able to mitigate its fury; and in acquitting himself of this duty as became a good patriot, he was enabled, amidst all the distresses and disasters of the day, to enjoy the satisfaction of having considerably diminished their number.

Frederick, though vanquished, nevertheless made that fine retreat, which will never be forgotten, and which, *unique* in its kind, displays the intrepidity of his soul, and the force of his genius. He quitted the field of battle, which was heaped with thousands of slain, to pitch his camp at a league distant from thence' where

where he assumed so formidable a posture, that the enemy, although in possession of all his artillery, durst not venture to attack him.

After being joined by prince Henry, the king marched into Silesia, relieved Neisse and Cosel, which were closely besieged, advanced forty German miles in the space of ten or twelve days, returned to Saxony with the like rapidity; and after having forced marshal Daun to raise the seige of Dresden, compelled him to evacuate Leipsic and Torgaw, drove him into Bohemia, chased the army of the circles into Franconia, and at the end of the campaign of 1758, remained in peaceable possession of Silesia, Saxony, the Oder and the Elbe.

In all these operations, Zieten had proved of the utmost importance to him. In the first instance, after the surprise of Hochkirchen, he covered the retreat, and effectually prevented the Austrian cavalry from annoying the army. When the king had gained Neisse, Zieten returned to the army of prince Henry, then

then stationed among the mountains; and upon the movements made by Daun in order to invest Schweidnitz, he covered the march of the prince, and facilitated his junction with his brother. He preserved the communication with the fortress, and kept Laudon, Brentano, and Nauendorf in awe. Furthermore, when the king returned into Saxony, and the prince had followed him to Lauban in order to hold a conference with him, his majesty intrusted the command in chief of the army to Zieten, who now had Laudon to contend with. He was so well enabled to check the motions of that general, that he kept him in a state of inactivity during the rest of the campaign. On the 1st of December, both parties entered into their respective winter-quarters, and Zieten betook himself to his former position among the mountains.

He was likewise charged to cover the chain of posts between Landshut, Schmiedeberg, and Greiffenberg, at the head of seven battalions and twenty squadrons; and though he apprehended no surprise on the part of the enemy, he

he was not the less vigilant, and attentive to their slightest motions, nor the more remiss in making his reports to the king.

With these cares and toils, others of a different nature were combined. His regiment was now to be recruited both with officers and private soldiers.

The campaign of 1758 had made such havoc in that corps, that he was under the necessity of requesting the king's leave to make choice of such officers as he found in the several regiments of the army as were proper for the hussar-service. Of all his losses, the most irreparable one had been that of colonel de Seelen, the *commandant* of the corps. This brave officer being mortally wounded at the surprise of Hochkirchen, and left in that village on account of the impracticableness of carrying him away, was massacred the following evening by a party of Cravats. His courage and his humanity had gained him the esteem of the king, and the respect of the whole army.

Zie-

Zieten, without intending it, made him a suitable epitaph. We shall state the circumstance in a few words.

Before the beginning of the seven years' war, the general had ornamented his dining-room at Wustrau with the portraits of the principal officers of his regiment. That of M. de Seelen, was a remarkable good likeness. One day (a long while after the war) when one of the guests was looking attentively at the picture, Zieten observing him, exclaimed, "The man you are contemplating there, was worth all of us put together."

In effect, noble, modest, disinterested as he was, he deserved that flattering eulogy. His various exploits, his innumerable expeditions, rendered him dear to Frederick, whose orders were generally couched in the form of requests, and who on more than one occasion, had, in a moment of gratitude, promised to redress the wrongs of fortune, and to enrich him; a favour, which Seelen as often acknowledged to his majesty, would be of little avail,

as

as whatever he might thus receive, he should consider as belonging as much to his friends as to himself.

A few moments before the fatal bullet reached him, having seen lieutenant de Probst, * his friend and pupil, wounded at his side, he ordered him to be carried behind the ranks. While the surgeon was employed in dressing the wound, a party of hussars passed by, bearing the colonel, wrapped up in his cloke. What an interview for the two friends! Seelen bade his pupil a last farewell, but refused his embraces, not only to spare the lieutenant's emotions, but probably to prevent himself from immediately sinking under the anguish arising from his wound. He died as he had lived. The king relieved the pecuniary distresses of his widow and danghter, who were not only unprovided for, but much encumbered with debts.

One

* Since that time, *commandant* of the regiment. He fell in the Bavarian war, in the year 1778.

One of the colonel's creditors behaved in the most noble manner to these unfortunate ladies. He had advanced M. de Seelen, not long before his death, the sum of six thousand dollars upon a house the latter had in Berlin. Being informed that the house was shortly to be sold for the purpose of paying off the mortgage, he immediately called on Madame de Seelen, and making her a present of the deed, declared it was far from his intention to distress the family of a worthy man, who, had he lived, would certainly not failed to have paid him. This generous creditor was M. Jacob Moses, a wealthy Jew of the city of Berlin, who died a few years ago with the reputation of great probity, humanity, and talents.

The colonel's son treads in the footsteps of his father. The king frequently exhorted him to follow the example, and at the same time, was pleased to renew his promise of taking care of him. He was first placed in the regiment of Zieten, from whence he was removed into the hussars of Anspach, with the

the rank of captain, in the reign of Frederick William II.

We have stated, that Zieten obtained leave from his majesty to recruit his shattered regiment with such officers, belonging to other corps, as he should judge fit for the service; and we shall insert their names, because several of them have since succeeded him as generals. These were M. de Zettmar, M. de Hund, M. de Prittwitz, M. de Drössel, M. de Wolfrath, M. de Luck, M. de Holzen, M. de Schladen, M. de Ledevary, and M. de Rumberg.

At the same time, he removed some of his veteran captains into regiments of easier discipline, advanced many young officers by way of encouragement, * raised several sergeants of merit to the rank of lieutenant, and obtained the royal approbation of all these useful proceedings.

We

* Among others, M. de Lestocq, now general of a regiment of hussars, and an officer of great professional talents.

We shall now insert some of the letters of the king and Zieten which were written at this period.

Letter from the king.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I charge you by the present letter to write to me frequently in order to inform me of every thing that occurs in your quarters, and of the various motions of the enemy.

Dresden, December 15th, 1758."

(Postscript, in the king's own hand),

"Send me the names of such officers as you think fit to fill up the vacancies in your regiment.

Frederick."

(Another postscript, at the bottom of a letter from the king.)

"I intirely approve of the arrangement of the quarters you have pointed out.

Frederick."

Letter

Letter from the king.

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I charge and earnestly recommend to you to procure such spies as may speedily and accurately inform you of whatever the enemy may be meditating and preparing against you. Spare no expense in this business, and particularly for spies of consequence, should it be in your power to obtain any of such description. I shall not regret the money, and shall instantly reimburse you.

Breslaw, Frederick."
December 17th, 1758.

Letter from Zieten, without any date.

In consequence of your majesty's gracious commands, I have just conferred the squadron, vacant by the death of colonel de Seelen, on captain de Prittwitz. I wait your majesty's disposal of the hundred dollars accruing from the pay in the interval. I humbly propose the following division of the five hundred dollars winter-allowance for the chief of the squadron. I would give a moiety to the widow, because she is straitened in her circumstances,

stances, and that her late husband's equipments were taken at Hochkirchen; the other moiety, I would present to captain de Prittwitz. I apprize your majesty, that either party will be satisfied with such arrangement.

In the regiment-chest, there remains the sum of seven hundred and thirty-six dollars, arising from the pay of those who died and were not immediately replaced by others; and I humbly propose, unless your majesty should decide otherwise, that this sum be granted to the regiment, to be divided among such of the officers as lost their equipments at Zorndorf and Hochkirchen; as well as among those who are newly arrived, and have not the means of furnishing their own. I promise your majesty to make this division according to the strictest rules of equity, and I may venture to assure you of an increase of zeal and attachment on the part of such officers as shall participate this benefaction."

We have every reason to believe that the king gave his consent to an arrangement equally

ly prudent and equitable, and we have inserted the letter merely to afford new proof of the upright and impartial character of Zieten. There are still extant a multitude of reports of this nature which the general made to the king during the months of January, February, March, and May, of the year 1759. They contain the military, historical, and political ocurrences of the day; observations upon the prevailing sentiments of the Hungarian nation; various changes which happened in the Austrian army, together with some curious particulars relative to Vienna. These authentic and valuable reports are not only too bulky to find a place in these memoirs, but would be at the same time superfluous, as they contain matter which has since appeared in the history of the times, and which is amply discussed in the works of Frederick the Great, and in the Observations of an Austrian Veteran.

For the like reason, fourteen letters, written by the king to Zieten, are not inserted in these sheets. They are dated from Breslaw, in the months of January, February, and March,

1759,

1759, and contain general and particular orders, directions relative to discipline, and details with regard to the position and motions of the enemy. In five of these letters, the king expresses his approbation of Zieten's conduct. In one, written in the month of March, his majesty complains of the infrequency of his reports, and that the general had not apprized him of the march of the Austrians. In the following letter, of the 5th, he informs Zieten that the rumour of the above-mentioned march had been unfounded, and he likewise thanks him for a late report. Finally, in the last letter but one, dated the 15th, he desires him to repair to the head-quarters at Bohnstock, to hold a conference with him.

In consequence of this, Zieten, at the beginning of the fourth campaign, waited upon the king, who was likewise attended by all the other generals, for the purpose of receiving his majesty's orders.

It is well known that the king, at the beginning of the year 1759, remained on the

defensive, without passing the mountains, that he was satisfied with covering Silesia and endeavouring to dive into the intentions of the enemy, in order to counteract them with the more energy and success.

He at first divided his army into cantonments in the environs of Schweidnitz. Marshal Daun distributed his in like manner in Bohemia, and his quarters extended from Trautenaw to Reichenberg. Zieten's corps lay encamped in the vicinity of the latter town. It consisted of eighteen battalions and nineteen squadrons. His head-quarters were at Landshut, and the extremities of the encampment, the towns of Löwenberg and Greifenberg.

The enemy made no attempts against the centre, but meditated a bold stroke upon Greifenberg with all the confidence of success, on account of the proximity of that town, and the advantages the ground afforded them. Colonel de Duringshofen was garrisoned in the above place with one battalion of grenadiers; and four squadrons of Zieten's cavalry, under the

the command of major de Hund, were stationed in the adjacent villages. In the night of the 23rd of march, the corps of general de Beck quitted its post at Zittaw. This body of men, which was six thousand strong, advanced in three columns upon Greifenberg. The Prussian *commandant*, duly apprized of their march by Zieten's patrols, had time to send his baggage to Löwenberg, and to call the garrison of that place to his succour, as well as to occupy, in the mean while, the strong position of Klingenberg. In this place, he waited the arrival of the enemy. The intended surprise was now changed into an open attack: the Prussian grenadiers fought with the most determined bravery; till finding themselves surrounded by three hostile columns, cut off from the post of Löwenberg, and their commanding officer mortally wounded, they were compelled to yield, and were made prisoners of war.

After having imposed a contribution of two thousand florins upon the town of Greifenberg, the Austrian general left it on the same

evening, and marched into Bohemia. This assault, which had been masked by a false attack along the whole frontier, was attended with no further consequences; and though it does not directly relate to Zieten, we have nevertheless made mention of it, as a part of the corps he commanded was involved therein.

To prevent such disasters in future, the king reinforced the posts of the mountains, altered their positions, stationed Zieten nearer to the frontiers, and having directed him to establish his head-quarters at Löwenberg he furnished him with a battery mounted with twelve pounders. His majesty covered his flank by a second corps, under the command of lieutenant-general de Wedel. Thus the two generals, placed as they were, had it in their power to afford each other mutual assistance as necessity should require; but their principal object was to observe Laudon, to follow up his motions, to keep a strict look-out on all points, to vary their quarters, change their fronts, gain information by sending out reconnoitring

noitring parties, prepare for attacks and repulse skirmishes. In this painful service, Zieten acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign.

Whilst he remained thus on the defensive and was checking the progress of the enemy; and while stationed in the centre of the operations, the king was following the same plan; prince Henry and general de Fouqué (the former, in Bohemia, and the latter, in Moravia) were proceeding with great vigour: they gained magazines, carried off garrisons, and took the Austrians in their rear. Not satisfied with these advantages, the prince had entered Franconia, dispersed the troops of the circles, and after having deprived them of the well-stored magazines of Nuremberg, had driven them upon Bohemia and Bavaria. We mention these exploits because Zieten always spoke of them with admiration. It was soon after this, his lot to be a nearer observer of the hero by whom they had been atchieved, as he was detached from the army of the king to join that of the prince.

At

At this period it was, that general de Wedel was sent against the Russians. Zieten, who was his senior officer, felt himself at first aggrieved on the occasion. Reflection, however, soon came to his aid, and suggested the following consolation, which we shall give the reader in the general's own words, as communicated by him to one of his most intimate friends. "The king prefers Wedel to me, and I forgive with all my heart. There are no laurels to be gathered in the service on which he is sent; and especially if he should take such and such positions. In such other (which he pointed out) he may cope with the enemy, may even come off victorious, and, (added he with warmth,) should Wedel have sense enough to make a proper choice, I should go half-distracted not to be in his place." Unfortunately, the general adopted the position which Zieten had mentioned as extremely dangerous. He was beat at Kay, near Zullichaw, and the country became exposed to new danger. The victorious Russians entered the marquisate of Brandenberg, in order to assist the Swedes who had penetrated therein on the side

side of Pomerania, at the same time that the Austrians were menacing to join them by the way of Silesia, and that the army of the circles were approaching the Elbe and the Spree.

Pressed on all sides, Frederick hastened with a part of his army, to the relief of Wedel. He gave his brother, whom he had called into Silesia, the command of the rest of the troops; and in this manner it was that Zieten was now to fight under the banners of prince Henry.

These changes took place in the month of August. The battle of Frankfort soon aggravated the disasters of this campaign, and plunged the country into the deepest distress. The great Frederick himself despaired for a moment of the salvation of the state.

The prince, his brother, not only did not despair; but was enabled, by his calm intrepidity, the wisdom of his measures, and his skilful manœuvres, to re-establish the equilibrium

brium of Prussia, and to deserve the name of the Preserver of his Country.

After this eulogy, that of Zieten will be sufficiently expressed by adding, that he exactly co-operated with the prince in defeating the projects of the enemy, in opposing stratagem to force, and able manœuvres to superiority of numbers.

The army which the king left on quitting his brother, consisted, according to some accounts, of twenty battalions; and according to others, of forty, together with seventy squadrons. The prince was encamped at Schmolseifen, on the borders of Lusatia, and Daun was stationed over-against him between Mark-Lissa and Lauban.

It was of the utmost importance to the prince to keep up a direct communication with the army, which the king commanded in person against the Russians. On the one hand, it was necessary to hinder marshal Daun from penetrating into the electorate and placing

ing the king between two fires; on the other, the Russians and the corps of Laudon were to be prevented from marching into Silesia and from falling upon Glogaw, which was incapable of making much resistance.

The motions of the marshal were of an alarming and unequivocal nature. He was forming a conderable magazine at Guben in Lusatia for the Russians, towards whom he had made an advance, by having marched with the main body as far as Pribus. The rest of his troops being divided into numerous detachments were posted along the Neisse and the Queisse.

As soon as the prince was informed of these movements, he ordered Zieten to hang on the enemy's flank and observe a parallel direction, and to re-establish the communication with the king who was now at Furstenwald. Zieten filed along the Queisse and the Bober, and advanced to Sagan. He reinforced himself, as he went on, with the corps posted on the frontiers, and at length found himself at the head

head of fifteen battalions and thirty squadrons, which might be estimated together at ten thousand men. *

He arrived on the 16th, at Bunzlaw, and on the 17th, at Ober-Leschen. He pitched his camp at the latter place, where he had the Bober

* We shall here add an exact list for the better explanation of the plate subjoined to this volume.

Brigade of major-general de Bulow.
1 battalion of the grenadiers of de Billerbeck.
1 ditto of de Nimschefsky's.
2 ditto of de Peverling's.
2 ditto of de Munchow's.

Major-general de Braun.
1 battalion of de Reberdach's.
2 ditto of de Linstädt's.

Major-general de Sidow.
2 battalions of Brunswick's the younger
2 ditto of de Stutterheim's.
2 ditto of prince Ferdinand's.

Major-general de Bandemen.
10 squadrons of de Faseld's carbiniers.
10 ditto of de Schmettaw's.

Major-general de Czettritz.
5 squadrons of the dragoons of Czettritz.
5 ditto of de Gersdorf's hussars.

Bober before him, while his flanks were covered by thick forests.

He remained wholly inactive till the 27th, without being disturbed either by the marshal, who, as it has been observed, was camped at Pribus, or by general de Beck, who had re-occupied Sagan. During this interval, he kept up a free communication with the prince's army and with the fortress of Glogaw.

Alarmed at this bold posture, Daun did not venture to attack him. Soon after, the prince followed him with the bulk of the army, and marched upon Sagan, after having left general de Fouqué at Schmolseifen for the purpose of observing the rest of the Austrian troops in the camp of Lauban.

On the 27th of August, the prince arrived at Bunzlaw. Zieten, on the same day, advanced as far as Sprottaw, where the hussars of Gersdorf had a skirmish with a party of Beck's corps. That general evacuated Sagan on the same afternoon. The Prussian advanced-

guard

guard entered the place the moment in which the Austrians quitted it. The latter having had the precaution to break down the bridge, their loss consisted of a small number of prisoners only.

Zieten arrived on the 28th at Sagan, and pitched his camp on the Galgenberg. He threw a few battalions into the town, repaired the bridge, and stationed some advanced-posts on the other side of the river to check the progress of the enemy. The latter were now meditating a retreat.

The prince followed at a small distance behind, and reached Sagan on the 29th. Zieten gave place to him, and arrived the same day a Soraw, where he seized upon a magazine, and made eighty-four hussars and three officers prisoners of war.

This slight advantage, however, did not render him insensible to the dangers that threatened him. He found himself surrounded by several hostile detachments, which the elevated situa-

situation of his camp enabled him plainly to discern. He discovered the main army of Daun with several separate divisions, together with the corps of general de Beck. The latter in particular excited his attention.

In the mean while, the motions of the prince and his arrival at Sagan had put an end to the projects and all the offensive measures of marshal Daun, who not being able to gain Glogaw in due time, fell back from Triebel to Pribus, and from thence, as far as Muska on the other side of the Neisse. He gave up his plan of opening a communication with the Russians and of supplying them with flour from Guben; he was even apprehensive for the safety of that magazine, and caused it to be transported over the Neisse to secure it from the danger with which it was threatened. The different corps of his army, including that of de Beck, at length received orders to retreat.

Of these motions Zieten was informed by general de Czettritz, whom he had sent out on

on a reconnoitring party, and who having fallen upon Daun's advanced-guard at Triebel, had returned with seventy-three prisoners.

The Austrians flattered themselves that the Prussian general would fall into a dangerous state of security in his camp at Soraw; and though they were five times more numerous than their enemy, they suffered him to remain unmolested during the two last days of August and the first of September, the better to encourage his supposed security. After this, they made a feigned retreat with a view of secretly taking a position favourable to their designs of intercepting and carrying off the corps of Zieten. Beck was instructed to march through the forest of Soraw and take a direction to the left, in order to occupy the Buschmühle* and the defile which lay on the road to Sagan. Buckow was directed to turn Zieten's right wing and take him in the rear. Daun, in the

* A water-mill on the rivulet which runs through Soraw.

the mean time, intended to attack him in front.

The whole of the 1st of September was taken up in preparations in the three several camps. Of this Zieten unfortunately was not apprized, as a strong patrol, that had been sent out towards Muska in the night of the 1st, either neglected their duty, or performed it in a very imperfect manner. A quantity of provisions and baggage-waggons, moreover, arrived at the camp the same night, which encreased the general embarrassment; and according to all appearances, Zieten and his ten thousand men could have no prospect of escaping out of the hands of the enemy.

Two fortunate circumstances, assisted by a bold manœuvre, at length extricated them from their dangerous situation. A patrol of two hundred hussars, sent out from the prince's army, discovered accidentally the advanced-guard of general de Beck in full march, in the evening of the 1st. They made their report to Zieten, and confirmed the truth of

of it by producing thirty prisoners, whom they had just taken. A second lucky incident was the arrival of the free battalion of Salemnon, which the prince had detached on the presumption that it would not prove an unwelcome reinforcement. This battalion arrived in the defile of the Buschmühle at the moment in which Beck was beginning to occupy that post. He thought himself discovered, and taking the battalion and the hussars for the advanced-guard of a corps which the prince had sent to the relief of Zieten, he returned to the forest without having taken possession of the defile.

The night passed undisturbed away. At daybreak, the vedettes gave notice that they perceived a cloud of dust arise in the environs, and distinctly heard the marching of an army. The advanced-guard confirmed their report. General de Czettritz then put himself at the head of two hundred horse, and was soon able to discover plainly the columns that were advancing upon him.

Misled

Misled by the report of the officer who had commanded the patrol the preceding night, Zieten could hardly conceive these columns to be part of marshal Daun's troops; and great was his surprise, when after having advanced to make his own observations, he discovered the Austrian army full before him. Fifty thousand men were in full march upon him: if they had been able to occupy the heights which commanded his present position, his little army would have been lost. To retreat was all he had now to do; but to effect this in good order was an enterprise of no small difficulty. Zieten, however, was equal to the task. He ordered the retreat, and it was immediately executed in a manner more like a military evolution in time of peace than an operation of real service. The camp was broke up; the baggage preceded the march, under the escort of the regiment of Rebentisch. The main body began to move, preceded by the heavy cavalry and artillery. They passed the bridge and defile of the Buschmühle without meeting with any obstruction. The infantry followed, the advanced-guard, which was

composed of the battalions of Lindstädt, Nimschefski, Piverling, Salemnon, the dragoons of Czettritz, and the hussars of Gersdorf. The whole corps vanished from the sight of the astonished Austrians. Their infantry was unable to overtake that of Zieten; their cavalry was checked by the bravery of Czettritz's dragoons; while the corps of Beck, which endeavoured to harass the march near the Buschmühle, and in the environs of Mansdorf, was repulsed with loss by Salemnon's battalion and those of the rear-guard, each of which had formed into a square. The enemy thus frustrated in all their attempts, nevertheless could not withhold their admiration from, nor suppress their applause at, this splendid and extraordinary retreat.

To the praise due to the whole corps, a troop of Czettritz's dragoons is in a particular manner entitled. It consisted of a hundred men who were stationed, with captain de Beauvré at their head, in the advanced-guard for the purpose of defending the defile of the Buschmühle till the army had passed through it;

it; and they acquitted themselves with such successful bravery, that the post remained unforced. The battalion of Salemnon, which covered the bridge, behaved with like intrepidity, repulsed the corps of Beck upon every attack, and lost no more than fifteen men. The loss which Czettritz's dragoons suffered was still less considerable. They joined the battalion when the main body of the army had gained the forest and plain of Sagan, and arrived there without any accident. The enemy took one prisoner only; but it was a prisoner of distinction. Captain de Beauvré, the officer who had fought so gallantly, had the misfortune to have his horse shot under him, towards the end of the engagement. He was stationed in the rear of the retreat: his troops did not at first see him fall; he was instantly taken by a party of Austrian cavalry, and thus purchased with his liberty the glory he had so recently acquired.

Marshal Daun was at no great distance from the spot. The Prussian officer was presented to him, and the general's character appeared in

a very advantageous point of view on this occasion. A liberal enemy and an impartial judge of merit, he lanched forth in the commendation of the captain's bravery and Zieten's retreat; an encomium the more flattering and sincere, as he had imagined it utterly impossible for the Prussians to have escaped from him.

He was unable to conceive how Zieten, without having been apprized in time of the enemy's approach, had remained quiet in his camp till the very last moment. To explain this matter, M. de Beauvré was under the necessity of informing the marshal of the negligence of the officer who had commanded the patrol; and this additional circumstance tended to increase the esteem which that commander felt for Zieten, and the high idea he entertained of his capacity and courage.

Scarcely had Zieten arrived at the prince's camp, when general de Czettritz received a note from M. de Beauvré, in which the latter informed him of his captivity, the manner in which

which he had been received by the marshal and several other generals, whose names he mentioned, and requested him to send his equipment. This note and the names it contained convinced the prince and Zieten, that the latter had the whole Austrian army to cope with.

On the 3rd of September, the marshal occupied the post of Soraw, and his army extended through Lower-Lusatia.

The king, in the mean time, had advanced towards Saxony. His camp lay at Waldow, and the Russians were posted at Lieberose. The army of the circles had besieged and taken Dresden. The communication between the king and the marquisate of Brandenburg was kept open by five of Zieten's squadrons and the free battalion of Hordt. His majesty's communication with the prince had been interrupted by the position marshal Daun had taken; and to re-establish it, was a very essential point.

For

For this purpose the prince left Sagan, fell back upon Silesia, made a sudden entrance into Upper-Lusatia, and having defeated several corps of observation, took the marshal in his rear, and drew all his attention to that quarter. In this fortunate expedition, the particulars of which we shall not enter upon, the exploits of Zieten were of the most brilliant nature. He continually cleared the route of the prince, took possession (on the 8th of September) of the garrison and magazines of Friedland, made himself master of a convoy of a hundred and fifty waggons, in the neighbourhood of Zittaw, occupied Görlitz (on the 12th), retook Friedland (on the 16th), drew marshal Daun into Upper-Lusatia, and obliged him to abandon his plan of forming a junction with the Russians.

The prince had now attained the end he had in view. The communication had been re-established on the 12th of September. The marshal had withdrawn to Bauzen: the Russians, after having in vain expected him to strike a decisive blow, had marched towards

Silesia

Silesia through Guben, and appeared to have intentions to lay siege to Glogaw.

During all this time, Frederick had left the prince to act according to his own judgment. Satisfied with having saved the city of Berlin (which had been threatened by the Russians and the Swedes at the same instant), and with having detached some divisions into Saxony to check the army of the circles, he waited till Lower-Lusatia was clear, in order to traverse it; and having gained a march upon the Russians and arrived before them at Sagan, he at length joined his brother there.

Reinforced with a few battalions, with which the prince accommodated him, the king was able to cope with the Russians, as well as to prevent their undertaking any thing against Silesia, and after driving them from the banks of the Oder, he forced them to take up their winter-quarters in the above province. Vanquished as he had been in the plains of Frankfort, he now caused his defeat to be doubt-

doubted of, by thus chasing his conquerors in triumph before him.

While the king was approaching Sagan, prince Henry was preparing a feint march in Silesia. He ordered the bridges and highways to be repaired, and sent forward his baggage. His real plan was to return to Saxony, and to draw the Austrians after him, while the king was ridding himself of the Russians.

The project was attended with success. Marshal Daun was a second time deceived. While a few baggage-waggons, for the sake of appearance, repassed the Neisse in order to rejoin the army by a circuitous way, the corps of Zieten received orders to march upon Görlitz, where the prince himself arrived in another direction. Thus united, the army moved on the 23rd in two columns towards Saxony, and marched upon Torgaw. Zieten commanded the van-guard. The marshal, apprehensive of the danger with which Dresden was threatened, followed the prince closely, and thus favoured the principal object of his

his motions. Silesia was thereby delivered of its troublesome neighbour, and the king was at liberty to direct his whole force against the Russians.

Notwithstanding the checks which the Prussian arms had still to undergo in Saxony, the prince was able to sustain himself both against the Austrians and the forces of the German circles; and the issue of the campaign, in which Zieten gave new proofs of his indefatigable activity, was, upon the whole, glorious.

On the march from Görlitz to Torgaw, Zieten had the satisfaction of seeing his regiment united, which during the whole campaign had been parceled out into different divisions. In the month of February, five hundred of his hussars, under the command of major de Zettmar, had been sent into Poland for the purpose of destroying the Russian magazines upon the Warthe. This corps * remained in Silesia, in

* Under the command of major de Reizenstein, M. de Zettmar having been named *commandant* of the regiment.

in the environs of Glogaw, till late in the spring. From thence having joined the army of count de Dohna, * it covered its retreat after the unfortunate battle of Kay. At length, in the battle of Frankfort or Kundersdorf, still more renowned and unfortunate, the detachment accompanied the king and sustained his right, when that prince, averse to give up the victory which he had so nearly gained, threw himself, at the head of a small party of infantry, into the thickest of the fray. His horse was killed under him, and his aide-de-camp, de Götz, immediately presented him with that on which he himself was mounted. At the same instant, Laudon's cavalry advanced upon him, and the king's peril was the more imminent as his majesty was determined not to retreat. In this critical moment, the hussars of Zieten rushed between the king and the enemy. They were at once stimulated by patriotism, honour, and vengeance; and falling with fury upon the Austrian troopers, they checked, and drove them from

* Commanded by general de Wedel.

from the regiment of Diericke, at the head of which the king had just put himself, and fought as they retreated with him. Lieutenant de Velten highly distinguished himself on this occasion, by repulsing a troop of horse-grenadiers who had already surrounded the king and were on the point of taking him prisoner. Captain de Prittwitz * had the address to lay hold of his majesty, to bear him out of the fray, and conduct him through the defile of the mill as far as the bridge of Guritz, at which place the main body of the army had already rallied.

These hussars have ever since been called the preservers of Frederick, the preservers of their country. The merit of this service extended to their general, who on his part was fond of cherishing the remembrance of this glorious event.

The

* Since that time, general of cavalry and chief of the regiment of gendarmes. "The king would have been taken by the Austrians, had not M. de Prittwitz attacked them with a hundred hussars, and gave him time to pass the defile." "Seven Years' War."

The campaign had not decided the fate of Prussia, nor did the winter procure the army the repose of which it stood in such urgent need. Obliged to draw his provisions from Saxony, and not being able to recover the Elbe from the enemy after the unfortunate affairs of Maxen and Meissen, the king satisfied himself with confining the marshal to the narrow space that lies between Dresden and the valley of Plauen, by establishing his own cantonments from Dippoltzwalde within the Mulda, to Freiberg, Willsdorf, and the environs of Meissen. In this manner he protected the marquisate and the city of Berlin, while the corps of Fouqué, stationed in Upper-Lusatia, covered the lower marquisate and Silesia.

Zieten commanded the advanced-guard. He encamped round Kesselsdorf and the villages extending to the valley of Plauen, in the face of an intrenched enemy who had every advantage of ground in their favour. The king had ordered him to cover the cantonments of the rest of the army, and he had eight battalions,

talions, a division of chasseurs, and forty-eight squadrons of hussars under his orders for this service; his head-quarters he fixed at Kesselsdorf. Here, surrounded by his troops who were encamped on the snow, he had to contend at the same time with the enemy and the inclemency of the season; with the various diseases incident to armies, and with a scarcity of provisions. Several battalions were obliged to be daily upon duty; and during the night, the dragoons and hussars kept their horses saddled, while numerous patrols were sent out in all directions to watch the motions of the enemy and secure the safety of the camp. From the instructions given by Zieten to his principal officers, which are still extant, it appears, that on account of the magnitude and proximity of the danger, he considered it necessary to redouble his vigilance and severity. Yet, under the pressure of this new kind of service, the troops stood in need of occasional indulgencies, and their general thought fit to allow them to burn the paling, the stables, the barns, and even the very houses, of the villages between Willsdorf and Kesselsdorf; and

and whilst the camp was laying the country waste in order to procure the means of subsistence, Zieten's sole consolation arose from the consideration of the efficacy of his measures, and the continual immobility of the enemy.

To the care of observing the enemy, was added another which Zieten partook in common with the king and the whole army; which was that of recruiting his regiment. The resources of Prussia seemed to be wholly drained, while those of the enemy were inexhaustible. On this circumstance the hopes of Austria were founded, and she remained obstinately averse to all pacific measures. She was not, however, sensible of the resources to be derived from the genius of Frederick; who, in effect, was soon after enabled to create an army of sixty thousand men.

Frederick, indeed, seemed conscious that every difficulty would give way to the efforts of his own will. He knew his generals; and the orders he gave them to complete their respec-

respective regiments, was the magic wand with which he created this new accession of force. Zieten received the following letter from him, dated Freiberg, February 8th, 1760.

"- - - - - Exclusive of your hussars who are prisoners of war, you will put your regiment upon the complete footing of fifteen hundred horse. As to those prisoners, you are sensible they cannot be taken into the account. They are liable to death, to enter into the service of the enemy, or to make their escape; men thus circumstanced are never intirely changed."

Zieten was much embarrassed by the task of completing his corps. He, at length, succeeded: the very name the regiment bore, contributed considerably to his success, and in the spring it was not difficient in a single man.

The following letter from the king serves to manifest the obligations that prince lay under to him.

"My

"My dear lieutenant-general de Zieten.

I hereby inform you, that instead of the stipulated allowance for winter-quarters, I have assigned you fifteen hundred dollars, which you will receive from the military chest. I sincerely wish that circumstances permitted me to express my satisfaction in a more efficacious manner. I acknowledge, as I ought, your many and indefatigable services. Be assured I shall never forget them, and that on every occasion I shall be happy to shew you, how much I am your affectionate king,"

Freiberg, April 17th, 1760. Frederick."

We now come to the year 1760, the fifth campaign of this long and interminable war. After some short differences, Austria and Russia, being again united, conspired against Prussia, which they flattered themselves they should be able to crush by their joint-preponderance, and they now began to raise up storms against Frederick the Great. To quell these storms, he had marched early in the spring into Silesia; from thence he had returned to Saxony, and

and laid siege to Dresden. He had likewise sent prince Henry to the frontiers of Poland to oppose the progress of the Russians.

During the whole of this campaign, Zieten did not quit the king's army (whose cavalry in the right wing he had under his command) except on marches, in which he was always stationed in the van or the rear, as circumstances required. Such was the reputation he had gained, that the enemy were become fearful of attacking him; at least, with equal force. They could boast of success but twice; — the first time, owing to the fault of the king; the second, to their superiority of numbers.

On the 7th of July, the king headed a strong reconnoitring-party between Nieder-Gurke and Göda, near Dresden, against the corps under the command of Lascy. Zieten commanded the detachment which acted as an escort. He had taken three hundred prisoners, and having fulfilled the object of the expedition, he solicited the king's leave to withdraw his troops. He had a conference with his majesty

at three leagues distant from the camp: the columns of Lascy began to advance and the danger, to which the Prussians were now exposed, was every moment increasing. Frederick was determined to wait for the grenadiers who were coming on at some distance behind: they arrived, but they came too late. The numerous cavalry of Lascy overthrew that of Zieten, which retreated as far as Welke upon the grenadiers. The enemy did not venture to pursue them any further; but two hundred brave men had already fallen in the encounter. The next day, the Prussians resumed their march in order to pass the Elbe, and lay siege to Dresden.

About the same time, a detachment of Zieten's hussars, being attacked and taken in their rear at Kalkowitz upon the Spree by those of Lascy, lost two officers, three petty officers and eighty-four private soldiers. They perished, but with the glory of having yielded to numbers only.

One evil now began to follow another in rapid succession, and the situation of the king grew

grew extremely critical. Glatz had surrendered; Laudon was besieging Breslaw at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. The spirited resistance made by general de Tauenzien, who with three thousand invalids guarded nineteen thousand prisoners and defended the place, gave prince Henry time to arrive, and to save Silesia for a second time.

Eighty thousand Russians were now in motion. They approached Glogaw to assist the operations of the Austrians, and their junction seemed to be inevitable. The king had no other part to act but that of raising the fruitless siege of Dresden and hastening from the heart of Saxony to check them. For this purpose, he marched at the head of thirty thousand men. Ninety thousand Austrians pressed him closely. To the united army of Daun and Laudon, he opposed Zieten. The march from the banks of the Elbe to the town of Lignitz was one of the most painful and most perilous that had been undertaken during all the war; and the whole army bore testimony, that the skill and bravery which Zieten dis-

played in the van-guard, furthered the operations of the rest of the corps, and screened them from impending destruction.

The king, encamped at Lignitz, at a great distance from his magazines, confined to a small and inconvenient spot of ground, had chosen that position for the purpose of striking a decisive blow, which alone could save him. He was under the necessity of giving battle; and it was equally necessary to gain the victory. The battle was fought; and the whole army imputed the first success, that attended it, to major de Hund of the regiment of Zieten, who had the good fortune to discover in time the enemy in full march.

On one side were the Austrians, on the other, the Russians. The intention of the former was to surprise, surround, and defeat the king. Of the latter, the plan was to obstruct the road to Glogaw, and cut off his retreat.

The king knew not that the Russians were in the neighbourhood, and when lieutenant

de

de Wolfrath, * of Zieten's regiment, informed his majesty of this on his return from a patrol, he gave no credit to it. He nevertheless broke up his camp in the night of the 14th, passed the Schwarzbach in that of the 15th, and after ordering his troops to repose till morning, he prepared to gain the Oder.

While the army thus lay at rest, major de Hund with lieutenant de Wolfrath were reconnoitring the country, and their surprise was extreme, when, at daybreak, they discovered from the heights of Binowitz the columns of Laudon advancing to occupy that place, as well as a body of cavalry at Panten. Every moment was precious: they flew to apprize the king, and had the good fortune to find him, together with the margrave Charles and Zieten, in a small wood, round a fire, and fallen asleep.

With-

* Since that time, lieutenant-general. He died but a few years ago.

Without waiting for the king's orders, Zieten put himself at the head of the prince of Prussia's regiment of cuirassiers which had not unsaddled. He repulsed the flankers, fell upon the infantry which followed them, and threw it into disorder. He learnt from some prisoners, that the latter was a corps of five hundred grenadier-volunteers of Laudon's regiment, which had been detached to make a bold stroke. The king availed himself of his corps of reserve in order to impede the attack, and at the same time made that admirable disposition which history has celebrated and success crowned. Attacked at once by Daun and Laudon, he threw himself between them, and separated them; his left wing beat Laudon, while his right, under the command of Zieten and Wedel, kept Daun and Lascy in awe, and prevented their advancement.

Had Zieten's orders been strictly observed, the batteries would not have played but on the near approach of the Austrians. They began their fire too soon, and the balls at first fell much short of the enemy.

The

The battle began before sunrise, and at five o'clock, victory declared in favour of the Prussians. Never was victory more decided than this; nor was ever conqueror more suddenly transported from the abyss of danger to the heights of glory. Deploring the calamities of war, * and the necessity he was under of prolonging them, he ordered discharges of ordinance and small shot to be made in honour of his gallant soldiers whose bodies bestrewed the ground, as well as to celebrate the successes of the day. Eighty-six officers, six thousand private soldiers, two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three colours and standards, were so many trophies of Prussian valour. The loss of Laudon amounted to ten thousand men; that of the Prussians, to six hundred killed, and double that number wounded.

Frederick and Zieten had passed the night together beside a watch-fire. Uncertain of the

* "When will my calamities have an end?" exclaimed the king on the field of battle.

the hazards they were going to incur, they had suddenly separated at the alarm given by major de Hund. The one and the other had fought for glory and their country, and they met again on the field of battle, crowned with victory. Zieten congratulated the king; the king embraced Zieten, and advanced him to the rank of general of cavalry.

If the king owed this victory to the keenness of his military glance, and the extent of his genius which was ever able to avail itself of the moment, of the ground, and of the faults of the enemy; he was not the less indebted to the skilfulness of his officers and the bravery of his troops. Lieutenant-colonel de Möllendorf, the same who had so splendidly contributed to the victory of Leuthen, supported by major de Rhodich, * prevented a whole column from quitting the village of Panten, from whence it was even obliged to retreat.

* This officer died a lieutenant-general, and head of the war-department.

retreat. The regiments of Wedel, Forcade, Saldern, the guards, and especially that of prince Ferdinand, acquired much glory. The latter regiment suffered prodigiously: when the battle was over, the king was pleased to decorate the few surviving officers with the order of military merit, and to assure them, that he should never forget their services.

Zieten had the greatest regard for this regiment; he distinguished it in the infantry, as he always distinguished the cuirassiers of the prince of Prussia (now Schleinitz) in the cavalry, — a corps which had proved of great use to him in dispersing Laudon's volunteers at the beginning of the battle.

The victory of Lignitz had gained the king time, and weakened one of his enemies. It was now his business to rid himself of the other. General de Czernitscheff, who commanded the Russians, had advanced as far as Lissa: it was necessary to force him to repass the Oder. The army was in want of provisions, and they could only be procured from Glo-

Glogaw. Prince Henry was at Breslaw, and Daun before Schweidnitz; it was necessary to join the one, and to turn the other. In all these fortunate operations, Zieten rendered the army the most important services. Ever opening or closing the march; always skirted, but never broke in upon, by Lascy; he was nevertheless able to take a considerable number of prisoners from Saint-Ignon and Nauendorf.

Frederick was enabled to drive the enemy out of Silesia, and to put Schweidnitz into a state of defence. This, however, was but one of the great tasks he had imposed upon himself: after so many painful marches and counter-marches, he undertook that which had the re-establishment of his affairs in Brandenburg for its object. The Russians and Austrians had already taken possession of his capital; the circles were masters of the principal towns of Saxony, and, among the rest, of Torgaw, and his magazines. His majesty detached a division to deliver Berlin, and conducted his army in person to Torgaw, which it was incumbent upon him not to leave in the power

of

of the enemy. Daun continually hung upon his rear: being in possession of Dresden, Torgaw, both the banks of the Elbe, and the whole of Saxony; he was enabled to cut off all his provisions and communications. The king's position was extremely precarious: he found himself, on the approach of winter, without magazines, without fortresses; having no other footing in Saxony than the narrow spot he occupied, and apprehensive of being insulated from Berlin. The Russians on the banks of the Oder, and the Warthe, threatened to establish their winter-quarters in the marquisate of Brandenburg. It was necessary to recover Torgaw at any rate, to regain the Elbe, to impede the junction of the Austrians with the Russians, and to deliver the marquisate from danger.

Marshal Daun was fully convinced of the importance of Torgaw. The king endeavoured by various marches and manœuvres to draw him towards Dresden; he remained, however, immovable in his camp. The situation of the Prussians grew every day more critical and alarm-

alarming. Encamped at Duben, * and reduced to the sole magazine of that town, which could not afford a supply for more than four weeks, they were sensible of the necessity of either conquering or dying. In this perplexity, the king reinforced himself with the corps with which Zieten was occupying Wittenberg, broke up his camp, and crossed the Elbe at Dessau, before the enemy, who were expecting this passage upon three other points, were able to take any measures to impede it. After being further reinforced by the corps of the prince of Wirtemberg and general de Hulsen, who had just driven the Russians out of Berlin, and the army of the circles out of Saxony, he concentrated his forces; and impelled by all the courage of despair, he made ready for striking an important and decisive blow.

Frederick risked much, or, in fact, he had every thing to risk. His great soul, for the first

* Towards the end of October.

first time, now gave way to melancholy presentiments. He hesitated, for the first time, on the part he had to act. Undetermined whether he should run this desperate risk, he held a conference with his generals in Zieten's presence. Depressed by apprehension rather than encouraged by hope, he imparted his doubts and surmises, and in this manner impressed them with the like sentiments. How, indeed, should they have ventured to recommend what his own courage had not already suggested, or take upon themselves a responsibility which he seemed inclined to charge them with in case of ill success. They kept profound silence; Zieten alone thought proper to break it. "Every thing is possible, sire;" said he. "It is our business to triumph over difficulties." These few words decided the king, and the battle was instantly resolved upon.

His majesty decamping on the 2nd of November, marched to Schilde, established his head-quarters at Lang-Reichenbach, and after being informed of the position of marshal Daun

Daun upon the heights of Siptitz, he communicated to the generals of the left wing the disposition of the attack which was intended for the next day. With regard to the right wing, under the command of Zieten, the orders he gave that general were of a secret nature.

On the day of the battle (the 3rd of November) at half past six in the morning, the army began to march in four columns. Zieten's hussars preceded the first, which the king commanded in person. At ten o'clock, the corps of Zieten separated from the left wing at the moment in which Saldern's brigade had gained the causeway that leads from Leipsic to Torgaw.

The forces of Zieten consisted of four brigades, viz. Those of Saldern, Zeunert, Tettenborn, and Grumbkow.

His cavalry, commanded by the duke of Wirtemberg, comprised three squadrons of life-guards; five of gendarmes; three of life-carbineers;

bineers; five of the cuirassiers of the prince of Prussia; the regiment of Czettritz' dragoons; that of Normann's; and that of Krockow's.

Colonel de Kleist commanded the light troops, consisting of the regiment of Kleist's dragoons, that of Kleist's hussars, and one free battalion of Salemnon.

The king's intention was, that while Zieten should attack the enemy in front, he himself should fall upon their rear, and gain the centre of the heights of Siptitz at the moment of the arrival of his general there, and carry that position by storm. Zieten, in consequence of this, after having quitted the Leipsic causeway, was directed to advance along the road called the Butterstrasse, while the king should take the left direction, and file through the forest of Domitz in order to turn the enemy. Zieten had a march of two hours shorter than the king's to execute. To combine the two attacks, it was settled that he should remain concealed in the wood till the report of the cannon and small shot should summons him to advance, and begin the action.

Such

Such was the plan of attack. That of the defence which Daun had determined upon, was not less formidable. His right wing was stationed among the vineyards behind the village of Siptitz, and was covered by the forest of Domitz and several extensive mounds. His left wing reached as far as Zinna. Opposite that wing and the centre, lay the Röhrgraben, a brook which takes it rise above Siptitz, traverses the village and several pools, and falls into the lake of Torgaw. The corps of Lascy was posted near Coswig; the reserve at Grosswig; two detachments at Weidenhayn and Vogelgang; and several flying-posts in the forest of Domitz and on the high-road to Leipsic.

The king and Zieten advanced with their respective corps. The progress of the latter was slow on account of several obstacles he met with on the road which was besides, much damaged by the late rains, and bordered by hedges and ditches which admitted but of few outlets. At the entrance of Klitsch wood, the columns of the infantry received orders to halt till Kleist with his van-guard, had repulsed a body

body of light troops which infested that quarter. This operation took up an hour; after which, the cavalry continued to march along the causeway, and the infantry along the Butterstrasse for the purpose of gaining the heights of Siptitz.

The cavalry under the command of Zieten met a detachment of Lascy's corps which had taken post at the * Rothe-Führt on the Leipsic road, and which seemed determined to dispute the passage with two pieces of ordinance. A free battalion made ready to attack this detachment, when the enemy suddenly retreated, and left their cannon behind them. A mound which they had thrown up was now to be levelled, and the bridge of the Rothe-Führt to be repaired, which operations created further delay. Zieten, in the mean while, traversing the wood with his escort, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, discovered Las-

* A ferry.

Lascy's division, whose left wing, composed of cavalry, had passed the Röhrgraben, and extended as far as the ponds above Torgaw. The right wing, consisting of infantry, touched Daun's left. These two wings formed together an obtuse angle which the Röhrgraben covered in its whole extent. At the right of Lascy's corps, was the take of Torgaw, a chain of small ponds, and a battery.

Scarcely had Zieten left the wood, when the first ball that came from the battery killed one of his suite: the youngest of his comrades, who had never before been in an action, rode up to Zieten, and informed him of it. "It is enough," said the general, with great composure; "there will be many more killed before the battle is over."

At the same time, an hussar arrived with dispatches from the king, which Zieten was observed to read over in apparent perturbation of mind. He then took out his watch, and exclaimed, "Is he out of his senses?" He thought he heard a distant cannonading, but the wind being

being contrary, he was not certain he was right.

The king, on his side, heard the report of every gun. He had imagined that the discharge he heard at the Rothe-Führt, was the beginning of the attack. He could not comprehend these precipitate proceedings, and he had now no other part to act than to adopt them; and the more so, as several peasants and fugitives informed him that Daun was about to pass the Elbe, that he had prepared his pontons, that his baggage had taken a retrograde direction, together with his artillery of reserve and his meal-waggons. This was, however, a mere change of position, and which the king took for a retreat. He hastened therefore in order to begin the attack before the hostile troops could, as he imagined, recover their position. His first brigade, supported by Zieten's hussars only, without artillery or any of those appendages which serve to inflame the courage of the assaillant, advanced against an intrenched enemy. The corps was destroyed rather than conquered,

and it was thus with the lives of the choicest of his troops, that Frederick began to purchase the victory with which the day was destined to be finally crowned.

Had Zieten literally obeyed the king's orders, he would have marched directly to Grosswig, and from thence to the heights of Siptitz: instead of which, in order not to expose his flank to Lascy's division, which might easily have turned him, he took a circuitous way. He reinforced himself with his infantry, disposed it in two lines, with the cavalry on the right and a battery in front. In this order of battle he attached Lascy, supporting his left by the mountain of Siptitz, and his right by the lake. A part of his cavalry having discovered a ford, took that of Lascy in flank and immediately repulsed it.

In the mean while, his troops were greatly annoyed from the redoubts of Zinna and the heights of Siptitz, against which he was now advancing. The general was riding slowly along the ranks of his cavalry, when a cannon ball

ball took off the head of a cuirassier belonging to the prince of Prussia's regiment. His comrades were startled and alarmed at this accident: Zieten, however, revived their intrepidity by the example he shewed them of his own, and calmly said, "That worthy man, my friends, died an easy death."

The infantry, notwithstanding the terrible fire from the heights of Siptitz, still continued to march on. Daun opposed his second line to it. Zieten drew out his, and stationed it on the left wing of the former. His view was to draw the whole attention of the enemy to this point in order to support the king's operations. He ordered the cavalry to remain behind on his left, to keep that of Lascy in awe, and yet to avoid coming to an engagement. The duke of Wirtemburg, to whom he had imparted this order, caused it to be written down, word for word, by the aide-de-camp, who was the bearer of it, in order, as it seemed, to screen himself from all unnecessary responsibility.

Zieten

Zieten was now full against the Siptitz, at the head of his battalions. He detached the regiment of Dierke from the line to carry a redoubt and a wind-mill which lay in his road to the village. The enemy withdrew, and occupied one of the neighbouring eminences, after having set fire to the outermost buildings, and obliged the regiment to retreat.

In this attack Zieten narrowly escaped being killed through the imprudence of an artillery-man: at the moment in which the cannon went off, his horse fortunately reared, and sprang on one side. In the first emotions of anger, the general drew his sabre, and was on the point of falling on the gunner; but he soon recollected himself, and was satisfied with giving him a severe reprimand.

In the mean while, the Prussians endeavoured to gain the hill by another route. The brigade of Saldern traversed a small wood, and made an attack upon the vineyards, where a strong party of the enemy was posted. The regiments of Harrach, Sincere, Harsch, and Leopold

Leopold Daun, received the assaillants with a discharge of artillery and repulsed them with loss.

The day began to decline. The Prussians could distinctly hear, that in the quarter where the king was posted, the report of the cannon grew gradually less loud, and they concluded from thence that his majesty was making his retreat. Thus persuaded, the troops were determined to make every possible effort to secure the success of the day. They had, however, new difficulties to encounter; the ground was slippery, full of swamps and springs, and unfit for the operations of the cavalry, and the transport of the artillery.

Zieten was not to be discouraged; and turning more to the left, he now braved the fire of the batteries. The silence of his march and the declining day formed a striking contrast with the discharge of the artillery. At length, victory crowned these repeated exertions of valour. Colonel de Möllendorf, the *commandant* of the guards, who had acquired so much glory

glory in the battles of Leuthen and Lignitz, and who was well acquainted with the environs of Torgaw, discovered a dike * between two ponds, which the enemy had neglected to occupy. At the head of Saldern's brigade, he was

* This dike was so narrow, that only three men abreast could advance along it. The company of major de Lehman, forming a part of the regiment of the margrave Charles, was at the head of the column. At the moment in which they were about to advance, they perceived at the further end, two pieces of cannon which the enemy were pointing down the dike. The company halted in consequence of this obstacle, when a musketeer, of the name of Gulle, cried out, "It is of little consequence, whether I live or not, or in what manner I die;" and rushing upon the dike, he ran up to the artillery men, shot one of them dead, knocked down a second with the but-end of his piece, which having broken, he attacked the rest with the stump, and forced them to abandon their cannon. Three of his comrades joined, and supported him. The cannon were spiked and dismounted, and the column passed the dike, and proceeded to the attack of the redoubt. The hostile battalions opposed them in vain, and were soon obliged to yield. Gulle, to whom his officers promised signal recompense, dropt in the affray, and was feelingly lamented by his comrades. Fortunately he was only wounded, and he soon rejoined them. He has been since forgotten, and now resides at Soldin, his native town, and receives the allowance of an invalide.

was the first who advanced upon it. The general and his whole brigade followed him, and began to attack a redoubt. Zieten being apprized of this, sent an immediate reinforcement, and the redoubt was carried. The Prussians occupied it, and maintained the post. Saldern receiving a dangerous wound, directed colonel de Möllendorf, in the king's name and his own, to take the command of the brigade; Möllendorf made a second attack upon the enemy, which was crowned with success; but he was himself taken prisoner.

The Prussians had no other cannon than those which they had taken from the enemy. The hill was too steep and the ground too sandy for the transport of them. The horses would not advance, though every expedient was taken to impel them on. At length the brave infantry harnessed themselves to their field-pieces, and dragged them along. Zieten placed the heavy cannon on the right of the dike in order to secure the passage.

The want of artillery considerably retarded the victory; for, besides the first redoubt, others

others still remained to be carried. To shorten the operation, Zieten drew out his infantry on the other side of the Siptitz, and began an attack upon the principal battery. The enemy made a desperate defence; great carnage ensued, and success for a while seemed in a state of uncertainty: the battery and the field of battle had perhaps been possessed by the enemy, had not general de Lestwitz come forwards at this decisive moment, and sustaining the assault with his fresh troops, turned the balance in favour of Prussia. The general had been stationed in the king's corps of reserve. He had just formed a battery, at the head of five battalions of grenadiers, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of his majesty's cavalry at Neiden, and of repulsing that of the Austrians who endeavoured to harass it. Finding himself master of his post, he advanced to sustain Zieten, and having formed a junction with him, the last battery was soon carried, and the enemy obliged to retreat. The Prussians were scarcely sensible that they were conquerors, and waited for the return of day to be fully convinced of their good fortune.

The

The king, in the mean while, being driven with his cavalry as far as Neiden, passed a very anxious night in the church of that village. His anxiety increased every moment, and he impatiently waited for the break of day; when mounting his horse, he left the place, and scarcely had he ridden a hundred paces, before the chasseur who attended him, informed him of the approach of an officer in a white cloke who came galloping in full speed. The chasseur advanced, and recognising Zieten, turned about, and announced him to the king. His majesty not conceiving that the general himself could be the bearer of good tidings, received him with apparent disquietude; when in the usual attitude of an officer making his report, Zieten stopped, and said, "Sire, the Austrians are beaten, and are now making their retreat." The king then alighted from his horse; Zieten sprang from his, and they mutually embraced each other. The king was in an ecstasy of joy; and his general, mute, and oppressed by his feelings, found relief in tears.

After

After having paid this first tribute to sensibility, Zieten recovered himself, and began to inform his majesty of every thing that had occured the preceding evening; and, in his turn, he was apprized that the king's infantry, supported by the cavalry, had maintained their ground at the foot of the hills; that, consequently, the enemy's retreat had been general, and that there was no necessity of renewing the engagement. At the same time, he learnt, that the king had been exposed to great danger, that a ball had grazed his skin, and lodged in his surtout. After this interview, he returned to his corps, and arriving at the left wing of the infantry, he rode along the line, and exclaimed, "Comrades, the king has gained the battle, and the enemy are completely routed. Long live king Frederick!" The whole corps replied. "Long live the king! Long live Fritz! * and long live Zieten, our father, and the king of the hussars!"

During

* This was the war-name which the soldiers usually gave the king, in abbreviation of that of Frederick. His majesty seemed pleased at being called so.

During the battle, the cavalry, under the command of the duke of Wirtemburg, had kept the corps of Lascy in awe, and the cannon which had been taken from the enemy were pointed against the battalions which that general had sent to the succour of the heights of Siptitz.

We shall spare the reader such detail of this engagement as does not immediately relate to Zieten, and which, of course, is foreign to our subject. We shall beg to refer those who wish for fuller information, to the "Observations of an Austrian Veteran," * a work which does ample justice to Zieten, who contributed so essentially to the success of the day.

We shall close this subject with an anecdote. This battle, which was the last, in which either Frederick or Zieten engaged in personally, was the first in which our general stained

* See page 277 to 303.

stained his sabre with the blood of the enemy. He had now made such violent use of it, that Fahrenholz, his attendant-hussar, from whom we have the anecdote, had a difficult task to clean and furbish it.

Zieten's hussars, who formed part of the king's army, acquitted themselves in too distinguished a manner, not to be entitled to some tributary mention of their exploits. Before the battle began, they took general de Saint-Ignon prisoner, with the greater part of his dragoons; but they lost their gallant *commandant*, major de Zettmar. When the king made the first attack with the grenadiers, he had no other support than Zieten's regiment, which stood him in the stead of cavalry of the line. The regiments of Bayreuth, of the margrave Frederick, and of Spaen * emulated the exploits of Zieten's corps on this day, and deserved the honour of being mentioned with equal praise.

The

* Commanded by colonel de Dalwig, an officer of great merit.

The battle of Torgaw secured the Prussians safe and commodious winter-quarters; and the Austrian army being driven upon Dresden, took up theirs in that place. Some detached corps had succeeded in dislodging the enemy from Silesia, the upper and lower Marquisates, and Pomerania. The Russians returned into Poland; the Swedes repassed the Pene, and the siege of Cosel was not undertaken. All the advantage on the part of the Austrians was confined to the taking of Glatz. Both armies were considerably diminished in number; that of the Prussians suffered by the enemy's refusal to exchange prisoners; that of the Austrians was very ill paid. The finances of the empress queen were in great disorder, and the means and resources of Prussia now seemed to be inexhaustible.

The king marched deeper into Saxony, and fixed his head-quarters at Leipsic. Zieten established his at Meissen, and his corps lay cantoned between that town and Nossen. This corps was very considerable; it was composed of eighteen battalions, and fifteen squadrons of

of dragoons. His advanced-guard, consisting of two thousand light cavalry, and supported by a body of artillery, occupied the position of Siebeneichen, Wendischbohra, Robschutz, and Miltitz.

Previous to the dislocation of the army, the general had received the following letter from the king; a letter which does much honour to that prince's justice and humanity.

"My dear general de Zieten.

You are now going into winter-quarters, and it is proper that the close of the campaign should revive a sense of due order in the army, and put an end to every kind of abuse which had gradually and insensibly introduced itself therein. The marches, the counter-marches, the various military movements and operations which have taken place during the campaign, have too often rendered violent and arbitrary measures expedient for the purpose of procuring provisions; and they have furnished such measures with an excuse. But, at the present moment, justice as well as the con-

consideration of our own welfare loudly call upon us for the most exact discipline and regularity in the mode of procuring our subsistence, in establishing magazines, and in levying contributions in Saxony. I am therefore determined, that henceforth all violent expedients, all exactions, all arbitrary supplies, shall cease. I shall require the whole army to pay due respect to the laws of discipline, and shall cause every transgression of those laws to be severely punished. I particularly charge you, my dear Zieten, to inspect the execution of my orders, to inform the inhabitants of the country, wherever you command, or may afterwards command, that in case they are exact in furnishing the supplies, and the regular contributions laid upon them, they shall meet with no other annoyance; but, on the contrary, shall be protected and maintained in the possession of their property; and that no rigorous measures shall be put in execution against them, unless they themselves provoke such measures by their negligence in complying with what is reasonably required at their hands. A proclamation, ex-

planatory of every necessary particular, which I shall cause to be made, will be a sufficient guide to them in that respect. Furthermore, the orders contained in this letter are not to be observed till after you have passed the Tribsche. From that moment, you will take upon yourself to maintain due order and discipline in the corps under your command. I am your affectionate king,

Leipsic, November 27th, 1760.

Frederick."

In the course of this winter, Zieten received several other letters from the king, which have been preserved among his papers. Their contents are not of a very interesting nature: they are chiefly answers to reports made by the general, instructions, information respecting the position of the enemy, and military discussions. We shall insert two of them, as they are characteristic of the king, and as one of them contains a postscript in his own hand.

"My

I.

"My dear general de Zieten.

I have already informed you by general de Ramin of the success of Sybourg's detachment at Langensalza, and I shall now give you the particulars of that expedition. General de Sybourg has forced the pass of Instrut, and driven the French and Saxons, commanded by count de Stainville, beyond the town of Langensalza. The Saxons he has entirely defeated. Reinforced by general de Spörke, he chased the French as far as Eisenach, and afterwards took five pieces of cannon, five colours, sixty-two officers, and three thousand private soldiers. The enemy being pressed by general de Luckner, have since evacuated Eisenach and Gotha, and retreated to Vach. Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick informs me, that the hereditary prince has entered the Hessian territories and taken Fritzlar, and the immense magazines of the French there. Moreover, I was informed by express the day before yesterday, that prince Ferdinand has delivered Cassel, made the whole garrison prisoners, and taken possession of the magazines, together with a

considerable number of waggons. I feel great pleasure in communicating this good news to you. On Sunday next, the usual military ceremonies will be observed in honour of these victories. The progress of Sybourg's corps furnishing me with continual occupation, owing to the occasional arrangements which the expedition requires, I shall probably stay here till the beginning of March, provided every thing remains quiet in your quarter. Should it happen otherwise, you will give me instant notice of it, and I shall be with you. Your very affectionate

Frederick."

II.

"My dear general de Zieten.

I have received your letter of the 21st; and, convinced of the warm and sincere part you take in my service and concerns, I shall with great pleasure give you some further account of our successes in Thuringia. General de Sybourg being advanced on the 20th as far as Arnstadt, on the other side of Gotha, the army of the circles withdrew precipitately to Ilmenaw and Smal-

Smalkalden. The whole country is cleared; for I have every reason to believe, that the rest of the troops of the empire in the circle of Neustadt will march into Franconia. As for general de Spörke, he has completely dispersed the troops of Stainville at Vach. Luckner has taken six pieces of cannon from them, and all their baggage. The account of duke Ferdinand's expedition is confirmed. He has taken Cassel by storm, with six battalions, thirty cannon, and is likewise master of the magazines of Fritzlar. All this will, I am persuaded, force the disappointed French to leave the Hessian territories. I approve of your intention to send the battalion of Quintus to Strehlen. With regard to the garrison and magazine of Lomatsch, the care of providing for them must be left to lieutenant-general de Forcade. His corps has not yet been weakened by detachments. You will impart your orders and dispositions to him, as if they came directly from me. I remain ever your affectionate king,

Leipsic, February 25rd, 1761.

Frederick."

(In

(In his majesty's own hand.)

"Marshal de Broglio is arrived at Fulda with twenty thousand men, the remains of an army of sixty thousand. This may bring us peace.

Frederick."

The king's most ardent wishes were, indeed, for peace. The warrior, the conqueror, gave way to the feelings of the man, of the father of his people. Yet two years' hard trials were still in store for him; and it is well known, that the campaign of 1761 was the most perilous and desperate of any of the foregoing ones.

We leave it to the masters of the military art to decide, whether the junction of the grand Russian army with that of the Austrians, was one of those operations which he had been able to impede, or whether this fatal circumstance was not the immediate result of the death of general de Golz. It is certain that Zieten, the general's successor in the command, arrived two days too late for such pur-

purpose. He had been previously charged with the care of putting the provisions and pontons in a place of security, as well as with covering the march of the king, immediately after, into Silesia. Golz, who had gone forward with a view of falling upon the Russians who were still dispersed about Poland, and of attacking them separately, had fallen ill at Glogaw, and died before he had been able to execute his plan. The king sent Zieten to succeed him; but the Russian army was now concentrated. Zieten, however, put himself at the head of Golz's troops, marched into Poland, and formed his camp at Kosten in face of the Russians, from whom he was separated by the Obra only. The king was at Schweidnitz, where he had Laudon to cope with; and uncertain as to the direction which the Russian army might take, he sent orders to Zieten to reinforce the garrison of Brieg and Breslaw. These detachments having considerably weakened his corps, the general was obliged to confine himself solely to defensive measures.

To this slight sketch, it may not be improper to add the particular journal of the operations of Zieten.

As soon as he had received his majesty's orders to succeed general de Golz, he repaired to his destination. He arrived on the 29th of June, and on the next day he began his march to Kosten. In the mean while, the two first Russian divisions had broke up their camps, continued their march (on the 26th and 27th), and arriving at Moszina, had halted there on the 28th. The two other divisions (Fermor's and Czernitscheff's) had joined the above, on the 29th, and the united army proceeding on their march, had occupied the camp of Czempen, at a league distance from Kosten.

The corps of Golz, in the state in which Zieten had found it on taking the command, consisted of twenty-four battalions of infantry, and forty-seven squadrons of heavy and light cavalry. He had about twenty thousand men to oppose to sixty thousand Russians; yet, notwith-

withstanding this great disproportion of forces, he advanced on the 30th, as far as Polnisch-Lissa and Borchen, and on the 1st of July, he arrived at Kosten. During his march, his advanced-guard met a detachment of the enemy, under the command of brigadier de Löpen, and having joined battle, took the brigadier prisoner, together with three other officers and forty Cossacs. But being too ardent in the prosecution of their success, the hussars of Zieten and Malachowsky advancing upon a large body of cavalry which general de Czernitscheff led on in person, fourteen of them were killed and eighteen wounded.

Zieten, however, encamped in an excellent position at Kosten. His right wing extended to Czerkowa, and his left to Gukowa, while his front and right were covered by the town of Kosten, which he had garrisoned with a battalion of grenadiers. His front and two flanks were besides covered by a marsh four German miles in length, which was traversed by a single dike that led to Kotta. General de Tempelhof, who is a very competent judge of

of whatever relates to the military art, observes, * that this camp was one of the strongest that could be imagined, as two days' march was necessary for turning it and forcing the army which occupied it to take another position. An army so situated had, moreover, the advantage of retreating, at all events, through Schmiegel and Fraustadt upon Glogaw, without having any thing to apprehend even from superiour forces.

Zieten, however, did not long avail himself of the advantages which the camp of Kosten afforded him. Having been informed on the 3rd, that the enemy was proceeding to Dalskow, and apprehending the danger to which the fortresses of Silesia would be exposed, he marched to Storchnest, with which town he began the left wing of his camp, while his right extended to Kopkowna. He detached the prince of Bernbourg with five battalions and fifteen squadrons for the purpose of securing

* History of the Seven Years' War, vol. V. page 93.

ing the heights of Grätz, which covered his left wing. All his efforts to find out the position of the enemy were of no avail. M. de Anhalt at the head of four hundred horse, and M. de Dalwig with two battalions and twenty squadrons, were both equally unsuccessful in their attempts to pass the Obra; and the reports of these two officers gave him no better information, than that the camp and the main body of the Russians were at Dalskow.

Zieten had recourse to further attempts from day to day, and every new effort was thwarted by the numerous parties of light cavalry which were ever in motion around the hostile camp. Determined at length to remain no longer in this painful and dangerous state of suspense, he detached Dalwig, on the 8th, with two battalions and twenty squadrons, to Krzwin, to force the passage of the Obra in that quarter. This officer availing himself of a ford, led his troops across it; but scarcely was he arrived on the opposite bank, when he was received by so strong a body of cavalry that he was obliged by prudence to make

a timely retreat. His loss was not considerable, but the expedition produced no new information.

On the 9th, Zieten was at last apprized that the Russians had left their position, and pitched their camp at Borcke. This intelligence was soon after confirmed. Czernitscheff had first occupied the place; the main army followed him on the 11th, and on the 12th encamped at Kobielin. This march clearly indicated that the Russians were proceeding on to Breslaw; and Zieten, in order to be beforehand with them, had marched on the 9th Bojanowa; on the 10th, to Trachenberg, and took his camp at Brausnitz.

In this camp it was, that he received the king's orders to divide his corps into two equal parts, and to march directly to Breslaw. These two divisions, one of which was destined for Brieg, and the other for Breslaw, encamped separately in the environs of the latter city. In the mean time, the Russian army approached the frontiers of Silesia; it passed them

them on the 15th, encamped at Henrichsdorf and Brzlavecz, near Militz, and advanced on the 17th, in two divisions, as far as Tscheschen. Of this march Zieten was informed by colonel de Lossow, whom he had sent to Oels and Bernstadt, at the head of a reconnoitring-party, (consisting of Reusch's regiment of hussars,) and who, two days after, brought him four officers, fourteen petty officers, and a hundred and eight dragoons, whom he had taken from the Russians.

This movement on the part of the enemy obliged Zieten to camp near Breslaw, between Gubitz and Hufen, with the division that still remained with him, and which contained eleven battalions and twenty-two squadrons. He employed two thousand men in digging intrenchments to supply his want of troops.

Breslaw and Brieg were now secured from any sudden attack; Zieten defended the former, and general de Knoblauch the latter. If, however, Zieten, with the whole corps of Golz, had retained the position of Brausnitz, he had per-

perhaps been able to have opposed the Russians, on their entrance into Silesia, with more effect; at least, he might have checked their progress for some time, and thwarted their junction with Laudon's army. Instead of which, being now masters of the dutchy beyond the Oder, they marched without any molestation to Militsch, Wartenberg and Namslaw, and having proceeded up the river, effected a junction with their allies.

From this moment the preservation of Silesia did not result from any decisive action; it was effected by the marches and counter-marches, the manœuvres, the positions, taken by the king, and, under his auspices, by the army, divided into several corps, commanded by his best generals, and disposed in such manner as to leave no unguarded spot to favour any incursion on the part of the enemy. At length, observing that the imperialists and the Russians began to concentrate their forces, his majesty had no other resourse than that of imitating their example: he therefore occupied a kind of fortress in the open country near Bunzel-

zelwitz, and formed the celebrated camp which bears that name, in order to wait the crisis of affairs. This narrow space contained at once, the king, the army, and all the hopes of Prussia.

In this critical juncture, Frederick had reason to be well satisfied with the zeal and fidelity of his generals, as well as with their courage and activity. Zieten had just been recalled with his corps, and posted at Breslaw. He was one of the number of those who assisted the king with his counsels as well as with his sword; and, to the duties of his station, he added the most tender concern for whatever related personally to his royal master. He was not ignorant, that Frederick, in a moment of despondency, had declared that death was the last friend he had in store. In their nocturnal conversations, when stretched upon a bed of straw, in a redoubt, exposed to the enemy's fire, the two heroes mutually communicated their pains and their secrets to each other, — it was Zieten, who opposed the hopes that ever animated him to the melancholy bode-

ments

ments of the king; — it was Zieten who sustained the courage of his royal friend, by continually assuring him, that every thing would turn out prosperously. He would pronounce these words with such seeming conviction, and had so often repeated them, and in so positive a manner, that one day, when the king was more than ordinarily depressed by the sense of his misfortunes, and weary of hearing a kind of consolation which did not at all coincide with his way of thinking, his majesty asked him in a sarcastic tone, — if a new ally had joined the Prussian army. "No, sire;" replied Zieten, "I know of no other than one who dwells above, and who will never forsake us." "But," rejoined the king, "he no longer works miracles" — "Be it so;" said Zieten, "we stand in no need of any: — let him fight for us, and we shall not fall." Soon after this, the king had an opportunity of observing the reasonableness of pious hope; that providence was not a vain name; and that the confidence of Zieten had been that of a christian hero. The army came out unhurt from their camp, which had been transformed into a prison,

prison, and Frederick said to his general, with affected indifference, and in the genuine tone of sensibility, "For this time you have been in the right, Zieten; and your ally has kept his word."

The warm attachment which he always had for the king, did not, however, render him the less jealous of his own rights, whenever it was necessary to maintain them. He possessed the art of uniting delicacy with firmness, and the present campaign will furnish us with a remarkable instance in support of the assertion.

It has already been said, that the king had sent him to Glogaw, upon the death of general de Golz, to succeed him in the command of the army, and to march against the Russians. Zieten's health, which had seldom been good, was at this time in a very alarming condition. The king was probably apprehensive of losing him as he had lost Golz, or at least was fearful, that his indisposition would render him incapable of pushing his operations with due vigour. Whatever might have been his majes-

ty's motive, he despatched M. de Anhalt, his first aide-de-camp, to join Zieten's corps, with secret instructions to take upon himself the management of the army as circumstances might require. This officer, who was one of Frederick's chief favourites, arrived, announced himself to Zieten in a very respectful manner, and was extremely well received. Under pretence of taking orders from the general, he began to assume the task of giving orders himself; but Zieten, although he had from the first moment detected the views of the king and the object of the mission; and although this secret arrangement touched him to the quick; yet, without betraying his feelings, he remained immovable, continued to exercise alone the functions of commander in chief, and ridded himself of the importunity of his rival by making use of him as his aide-de-camp. In such capacity he chiefly employed him; he sent him to carry and execute his orders, charged him with the most frivolous commissions, and soon deprived him of the consequence he had enjoyed in the king's army, and which he would fain have assumed here.

here. Thus foiled in his expectations, he solicited the king to allow him to return; "For," added he, in his letter to his majesty, "there is nothing to be done with old Zieten, nor am I able to be of any service to him." The king immediately thought fit to recall him.

The close of this campaign was rendered remarkable by the surprise of Schweidnitz. This bold operation, which was conducted by general de Laudon, was the only disaster which the united armies were able to bring upon the Prussians. The loss of this place, however, together with the prospect of the ensuing campaign, created many gloomy apprehensions in the mind of the king. The enemy had gained footing in Silesia. They had, as well as his majesty, established their winter-quarters there. A body of Russians, under the command of general de Czernitscheff, (and which marshal de Butturlin had given up to general de Laudon), had likewise taken their quarters in the county of Glaz. The main Russian army returned into Poland, though not in time to hinder general de Pla-

ten from destroying the magazines of Posen, together with an escort of five thousand waggons. Marshal Daun and prince Henry wintered, with their respective troops, in Saxony; Laudon at Schweidnitz, and the king at Breslaw.

The well-known attempt, made on the 30th of November, against the king's life at Strehlen, had filled the Prussian army with indignation and alarm. While the troops had an open enemy to engage, they felt themselves supported by a proper sense of their own prowess; but they had now the machinations of treachery to cope with; — they had to combat against the dark arts of assassination, as well as the lawful operations of war.

If we make mention of this event and of some others relative to the king, in the course of these memoirs, it is, because whatever concerned that prince and his country was no stranger to Zieten's heart. We now come with him to a period abounding in great revolutions.

Eliza-

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, the personal enemy of Frederick, died on the 25th of December 1761. Her nephew and successor, Peter III, the avowed admirer of that prince, made peace with him, and endeavoured to engage the court of Vienna to adopt the same measure. On the refusal of that power, he sent orders to general de Czernitscheff to withdraw the twenty thousand men under his command from the army of Laudon, and to join that of the king with them. Sweden following the example of Russia, withdrew her troops from the coalition, and the king had reason to remember his invisible ally; to whom Zieten, however, did not fail to ascribe the glory of all these happy events.

Thus under the most favourable auspices, opened the seventh and last campaign of this destructive war. The king began it in preparations for the siege of Schweidnitz, which he was determined to recover from the Austrians. Laudon, in the mean while, made ready for the most vigorous resistance. All the belligerant powers now considered themselves

selves arrived at the last act of this bloody tragedy, and were determined to finish it with eclat.

Zieten had no particular corps under his orders. Continually stationed in the head-quarters of the king, he was invested with the command in chief during the occasional absence of that monarch, and shared the command with him, whenever two operations took place at the same time. The object of the Prussians was to dislodge the Austrian army which continued to impede the siege of Schweidnitz; but every attempt to effect this proved abortive. Intrenched upon their flanks and their centre, the enemy seemed to lie perfectly secure from every attack.

Marshal Daun had exhausted all his art in the choice of his camp. He had pitched it upon the heights of Burkersdorf; detached corps occupied the passes of the mountains, and forming a chain of communications with Schweidnitz, kept the whole country under subjection, and rendered the siege impracti-

cable.

cable. The king, however, could not submit to leave this gem of Silesia in the hands of the enemy; and not being able to lay siege to it, he resolved upon taking the camp by storm. His pupil, his rival in arms, major-general de Möllendorf, whose success had equalled his valour in the battles of Torgaw, Lignitz, and Leuthen, put himself, on the 21st of July, at the head of his brigade, and in the face of the combined armies, and in the presence of the Prussians, scaled the camp, and completely carried it in the course of four hours. This master-piece of Prussian tactics was executed with as much precision as dispatch. The barriers were completely cleared; and the routed army could not refuse paying the tribute of admiration to the conqueror. With him, general de Lottom * shared the glory of the day; and the writer of these memoirs is proud to decorate his grave with a sprig of laurel, as well as to water it with her tears.

The

* Afterwards *commandant* of Berlin: he died in the year 1774.

The success of this day proved of the utmost consequence to Frederick. He had just lost a powerful ally. On the ninth of July, a tragical revolution had taken place in Russia. Peter III. now dethroned, and no more, was succeeded by Catherine II. who adopted a new system of politics, and gave orders to general de Czernitscheff to march home with his troops. This intelligence, so afflicting to Prussia and so distressing to the king, had already transpired in the army. The Austrians could not long remain ignorant of it, and it was necessary to strike a blow before they might be enabled to render such step ineffectual. Frederick had gained upon the heart of the Russian general, and not upon his avarice, as it has been falsely represented, and he had been able to persuade him to defer his departure for twenty-four hours, to support the attack of Burkersdorf. The general did more: he ranged his troops in order of battle, and thereby facilitated the success of the enterprise. His friend, major de Berg, of whom mention has already been made in these pages, having asked him the next day, what he would

would have done, had the issue proved undecisive; "I would have advanced," said he, "and provoked my own destruction."

Zieten who had been informed of this great revolution by his aide-de-camp, lieutenant de Kleist of the gendarmes, absolutely refused to give any credit to it. He considered it as a mere fiction, a political bubble. He was, however, desirous of further information, and having all the Russian officers, on that day, at table with him, he got up, and gave the emperor's health. The guests were much embarrassed: some of them rose and pledged him; the rest kept their seats. Zieten had now no longer any doubt of the truth of the report.

The separation of the two armies was equally painful on both sides. The Russian and Prussian officers were united in those bands of friendship which seem so naturally to bind the two nations together. What they were mutually apprehensive of, did not happen: they were no more to draw their swords against each other, and the Russians on their depar-

departure, implored heaven to crown the arms of Prussia with success.

After having dislodged the Austrians from Burkersdorf, the king, in the beginning of the month of August, undertook the siege of Schweidnitz. General de Tauenzien commanded the army engaged in this enterprise. That of the king was divided into two equal parts. The one, encamped at Lampersdorf, and alternately under the orders of that prince and Zieten, covered the siege. The other, under the command of the duke of Bevern, who had just been restored to the service of his country, was posted at Reichenbach. Marshal Daun, whose grand object was to force the Prussians to raise the siege, had taken a formidable posture upon the heights of Langenbeil. The king continued to frequent the two camps successively, visited the intrenchments which had been opened on the 8th of August, and pressed the siege; was apprehensive of a battle, intrenched himself to avoid it on the defiles and even on the summits of the adjacent hills, and carefully kept up the communication be-

between the two camps in order that they might be able to support each other in case of need.

The event justified all these measures. Marshal Daun had devised a plan of attack that seemed to be infallible. While general de Beck should fall on the left flank and the back of the Prussians, and Lascy attack them in front with ten choice battalions, general Odonell was to pass the Pailbach at the head of twenty-five squadrons, to gain the plains of Reichenbach, and cover the left of Lascy, by throwing himself between that corps and the succour which the king might offord the troops under the command of Bevern. Several detachments at the foot of the hills had the like destination.

A little before the engagement, the king and Zieten met upon their return from a reconnoitring party which each of them had separately been making. The king was attended by M. de Anhalt and M. de Schwerin; Zieten had his aide-de-camp, M. de Lestocq, with

with him. On the approach of his general, Frederick stopped, and not knowing on what measures to determine, he addressed these officers in the following manner: "What do the enemy's intentions appear to be? Do they mean to attack Lampersdorf or Reichenbach?" No one made any reply; they were fearful of hazarding their opinion. Zieten alone had an eye sufficiently correct, and presence of mind and courage enough to answer. "Sire," said he, "whatever may happen, it will be necessary to station a wing of cavalry upon the heights of Reichenbach." The advice was judged to be salutary; and the success of the 16th of August, on which day the battle was gained, was the consequence of it. Beck had already turned the corps of Bevern, and thrown it into some disorder. Odonell's cavalry was on the point of enveloping the duke: the danger was urgent, and it was necessary to apply for succour to the cavalry of the king. The duke of Wirtemberg who commanded it, came up in time with his right wing, and re-established the line. Had he arrived later; had the advice of Zieten been for-

forgotten or neglected, all would have been lost. Odonell had already passed the defile, gained the plain, and formed his line; — when the horse-artillery of Wirtemberg began a terrible fire upon his left wing, and general de Lentulus of Bevern's corps, fell upon his right. The battle grew hot, the Prussian infantry advanced, the Austrian cavalry repassed the defile in disorder, the duke of Wirtemberg pursued it, and took four standards and some hundreds of prisoners. The hostile corps retreated, victory declared in favour of the Prussians, and the siege of Schweidnitz was carried on with redoubled vigour.

During the battle, Zieten remained at his post. He commanded the camp of Lampersdorf, and his attention was engaged between the succour he had to afford the duke of Bevern, and the resistance which it was necessary to make against the enemy. After having detached the duke of Wirtemberg with one half of his cavalry, he ordered the other half to sustain his left from Reichenbach, and his right from Roth-Vorwerk, in order to check the

the right wing of the enemy which threatened his left. The aide-de-camp whom he had commissioned with this order, after having communicated it to the general who commanded that moiety, proceeded on for the purpose of finding out the king, who had joined Bevern, and to whom Zieten had to make his report. General de Kiaw, either having ill-comprehended or ill-executed the order of his commanding officer, stationed his men upon the same line with the infantry, propping his left by Roth-Vorwerk and his right by the battery of Peterswald. Zieten arrived, and perceiving the error, instantly rectified it, but fell into so violent a passion on the occasion, that the general in order to extricate himself, had recourse to falsehood, laid all the blame upon the aide-de-camp, and protested he had executed the orders that he had been given him. At this moment M. de Lestocq made his appearance: he had been the bearer of the order. Zieten caused him to repeat it, word for word, in the presence of the general. The falsehood was detected. Zieten could no longer contain himself: among other things which

which his passion prompted him to utter, he said to M. de Kiaw, "You should be aware, sir, that it is not with such giddy heads as yours, that battles are won: and, pray observe, that such conduct will not be overlooked a second time." Yet, when the first emotions of anger had subsided, Zieten refrained from making the king acquainted with the affair; and the general, more touched with the delicacy of his commanding officer, than hurt at the severity of his expressions, shewed him ever after the highest marks of attention and respect.

After so many unavailing attempts, the Austrians at length thought fit to abandon Schweidnitz to its fate, and withdrew themselves from before it. They did not, indeed, consider it as lost; for independent of its natural strength, they had a whole army garrisoned within its walls. The siege went on slowly, but it was attended with the less danger. Zieten enjoyed some ocsasional hours of leisure; and he employed them in conversing with his officers on the art of fortifying towns, and with the labourers

bourers on that of tilling their grounds. He frequently visited the trenches, exposed himself to the shells of the enemy, and saw them fall at his feet without any apparent concern.

This was the last time that Zieten was to behold the fire of the enemy directed against him. Four months after this period, the songs of peace and delight succeeded to the doleful cries of desolation and death. The country received her sons with open arms, and joyfully congratulated them on their triumphs.

Schweidnitz surrendered on the 9th of October, with its garrison of eleven thousand men. On the 29th, prince Henry, whom history will ever call the Fabius and the Cæsar of the Prussians, beat the army of the circles at Freyberg. Princes Ferdinand, Charles, and Frederick of Brunswick, gained new laurels on the banks of the Rhine, and Frederick the Great, the *Unique*, intwined those he had won with the olive of peace, on bestowing that blessing upon the world. *

The

* On the 15th of February 1763, at Hubertsbourg.

The heroes of Prussia sheathed their swords, impressed with the pleasing and honourable conviction of not having drawn them but in the defence of their country. They had rendered their king immortal, as he, on his part, had rendered them invincible. Exalted to a higher degree of eminence than the greatest commanders that had preceded him had ever attained, he was nevertheless indebted in no small degree to his fellow-soldiers for his elevation and his glory. The army proudly cherished the remembrance of the seven years' war, and considered the happy issue of it as an ample recompense for their past toils; and History will consecrate some of her fairest pages to perpetuate their well-earned renown.

Since that period, a political and revolutionary fanaticism has thrown all Europe into disorder and dismay. A ferocious war has torn the vitals of the social system: whole nations, and not armies only, have risen in a mass, and joined in bloody conflict: and scarcely has land and sea afforded a theatre sufficiently vast for the operations of an uninterrupted warfare

of ten years' duration. It will be the task of future ages to compare these two periods, to point out their leading peculiarities, to characterise them, and to pronounce with impartiality. Happy the universe, if in addition to these two wars, a third of a similar nature is never to be recorded.

We should add nothing to the glory of Zieten by the recapitulation of his exploits. The reader has accompanied him through his various campaigns; and this unadorned narrative of his achievements has become his eulogy. His own actions have spoken for him, and they have stood in no need of foreign ornament. We should, however, be wanting in our duty in an historical point of view, were we to pass over in silence the manner in which he uniformly acted with regard to the various corps under his command. Some detail on this head is due to our young military readers, whom his example is so highly calculated to instruct.

As a general, and a commander in chief, he was never known to neglect any thing which had

had formerly been the object of his solicitude in the capacity of a subaltern officer. He extended to a whole regiment, to a whole army, the attentions he had at first began to bestow upon a single company. On the march, he was either at the head or the rear of the column, and always indefatigably employed in providing for every possible contingency. At one time, he would slacken the march, in order to allow the hindermost to regain the ground they had lost. At another, he would fill up the gaps, reconnoitre the bridges, the defiles, the face of the country; in a word, it might be said, that he never had a better quarter-master-general than himself.

When the army was encamped, Zieten was not satisfied till he had examined and adjusted every thing, entered into the minutest details, supplied every omission, and obviated every inconveniency. Whenever the king, as he imagined, had neglected a point, he would look to it; he posted or displaced the guards of the camp, augmented or diminished their number. When the ground was uneven it was his care

to remove all obstructions, facilitate communications, construct bridges and every other necessary accommodation; and his orders were ever attended to as much as the immediate orders of the king.

After having provided for the internal part of the camp, it was his custom to take a survey of its environs. By day and by night, while the rest of the army were taking their repose, he was on horseback, examining the face of the country in order to discover on what point the enemy might probably make an attack, and what spots were best adapted for making a defence. This was his invariable occupation, on the march, in camp, and in every position; whence the army had honoured him with the name of their guardian. When the infirmities of age began to grow upon him, and it sometimes happened that he fell asleep at the royal table, the king would never allow him to be disturbed. The first time that the company, upon such an occasion, were about to awaken him, his majesty interrupted them, and said, "Let him

him sleep on; he has watched long enough for us."

Frederick esteemed him highly for the manly firmness of his character, which the greatest military disasters were never able to shake for a moment. Bred up in the midst of storms, he had learnt to face them without dismay. While others trembled, he remained calm, and placed his intire confidence in heaven. This placid intrepidity, this cool patience, this inexhaustible fund of resolution, had great influence upon the mind of his royal master, who had often, under the pressure of despair, sought the general's quarters, alone and during the night, in quest of consolation and advice. Often has the heart of the consoler been wrung with anguish, when instead of coinciding in his way of thinking, the desponding monarch has made him no other reply than, "It will not do; it cannot possibly succeed."

Zieten extended even to the private soldier, the happy talent he possessed of encouraging the

the disheartened. He was aware, that the inaction and languor of camps are apt to give birth to discouragement, and that in such situations the distresses of want and hunger are felt with double severity by the troops. To prevent or mitigate their murmurs, he would often visit the ranks on foot, as well as on horseback, and invite the soldiers to come out of their tents. "Well, comrades!" he would say, "What are you doing there?" As soon as his voice was heard, they would instantly appear, and cry out, "Long live our good father Zieten!" — "Well, and how do things go on with you?" he would add. —. "Bad enough," should they say, he was nevertheless able to apply a word of comfort. "Take courage, comrades," he would answer, "If things go ill to-day, they may grow better to-morrow." He has been frequently seen to alight from his horse, and converse with his veteran grenadiers: he has dispelled the cloud that hung upon their brows, and often rendered them insensible to the torments of hunger by regaling them plentifully with hope. This great popularity, accompanied with a frank benevolence

lence of disposition which extended itself indiscriminately to every individual in the camp, had gained him the respect and confidence of the whole army to such a degree, that with one common accord, as we have just seen, the soldiers had no other name for him than that of their father.

In the various battles in which Zieten took an active or directive part, the youngest officers were well aware, that they should not escape the general's observation, — that their exploits would be remarked, distinguished, and rewarded. In the battle of Lignitz, at the attack of Laudon's grenadiers, previous to the general engagement, a young lieutenant of the prince of Prussia's regiment, of the name of Calbo, had received a wound. After the victory, Zieten passed near an officer who was under the hands of the surgeon. The general recognised him, spoke in high terms of his courageous deportment, expressed his concern at his disaster, congratulated him that the wound was not of a dangerous nature, and took occasion to praise the services the regiment had done

done the army, and the bravery it had just displayed. Such procedure could not fail to gain every heart. At the present day, M. de Calbo recollects this anecdote with singular satisfaction, and the impression it made upon him; an impression which upwards of forty years have not been able to efface. Thus could a word of Zieten operate in the breast of the young soldier, and prove a powerful incentive to glory and duty.

Officers of merit, to whatever regiment they belonged, could confidently rely on his kind services and powerful interposition, in cases, when owing to the distance of their residence from the king, to some unforeseen accident, and not to any fault of their own, they had lost the good graces of that prince. Zieten would watch for and seize the favourable moment to combat his prejudices. Obliged often to repeat his applications, he would never cease making them till they were crowned with success. In the campaign of 1761, the king, with a view to hinder the junction of the two armies, had recourse to several extraordinary

dinary motions; and, one day, having ordered Zieten to make an expedition in his presence, in the neighbourhood of Klosten-Wahlstadt; the general detached to the left, for the purpose of reconnoitring a wood, two squadrons of the regiment of Finkenstein's dragoons, — a corps which his majesty had an aversion to. The head of these squadrons met in a valley a body of Austrian cavalry, consisting (as it has since appeared) of forty-two squadrons. As they were confined to a narrow pass, it was possible to attack them with advantage, provided the charge was made in a bold manner, and with all the appearance of being properly supported. The commanding officers of of the two squadrons * determined upon making the attempt. Proud of repeating under the king's immediate inspection, the exploits which had rendered them illustrious at Crefedt and Minden, the troops were resolved to force from that monarch the approbation which he had hitherto so unjustly refused them.

* M. de Bergsdorf, and M. de Schatzel.

them. After having agreed among themselves not to waste any time in taking prisoners, and being properly assured that Zieten would not fail to support them, they fell upon the enemy with loud shouts and inconceivable fury. The king had scarcely taken notice of this movement, when he sent one of his aide-de camps, with all possible expedition, with these orders. "Tell Zieten to prevent the two squadrons from attacking the hostile cavalry, as they are not sufficiently strong for the attempt." The general sent back the aide-de-camp, with the following reply. "Inform the king that I request him to let them go on, and that he himself would have the goodness to be witness to their success; that I have always said they were brave troops; that it is now their business to shew themselves such; and that I shall take care to send the rest of the regiment to their succour." The dragoons performed prodigies of valour, the promise of Zieten was realized, and the king, on their return, conferred upon every officer the order of military merit, and gave them leave to wear a particular kind of sabre in honour of the

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exploits of the day. From this time, Frederick continued to testify the highest esteem for the corps; and Zieten who had the happiness, or rather, the merit of bringing about this revolution in his majesty's sentiments, never ceased to congratulate himself on having chosen the favourable moment, and turned it to so good an account.

Ever serious, often severe, with regard to the officers who were subordinate to him, and particularly when they were men of high rank, he required the same secrecy on their part, as he himself observed in his most trivial expeditions. He carried his scruples so far on this point, as never to give his troops any intimation of their destined march till the very last moment. On the day preceding any motion, nothing was allowed to transpire through the whole army, and the instructions or dispositions, which he had to give the generals, were dictated to them in private, after having caused their aide-de-camps to withdraw. One day, when general de Bandemer, whose hand shook on account of his great

great age, had requested that his aide-de-camp should be permitted to sign in his stead, Zieten granted him that indulgence with no small reluctance, and not till the general had made himself responsible for the discretion of that officer.

His new officers, his new aide-de-camps, and especially when they were recommended by powerful patronage, were destined to act at first but passive and secondary parts. He commonly employed them in the most unimportant commissions, and it was not till he had put them to the proof, and had become well acquainted with their several characters, that he gave them his confidence, and did proper justice to their deserts.

He made choice of his aide-de-camp-majors from among the best of his officers. To fill this post, great talents and great activity were always requisite. Severe to an extreme, with respect to them, and, at most, pardoning such errors as resulted from youth and want of experience, he inured them to a rough school of

of discipline. Two eminent general-officers of the present day were long engaged in this honourable post with him; the one, lieutenant-general de Köhler, whom he always called his pupil, his friend; who was tenderly esteemed by him, and whom he particularly recommended to the king; the other, major-general de Lestocq, who succeeded the former, and of whom we have already made honourable mention. They were both proud to acknowledge, upon every occasion, what they owed to their master, their father, their friend.

To the severity which Zieten exerted in every thing that related to the military service, he knew how to add proper indulgence, whenever he perceived that the officer was still more jealous of his honour than prone to subordination. The case of M. de Romberg will furnish us with a proof of it. This officer, a man of eminent talents, and whom his country would have numbered among its best commanders, had not an untimely death interrupted his military career, was aide-de-camp-

camp-major to Zieten. One day being charged by him with a commission of small importance, and sensible that it was confined to the mere delivery of a message, he employed a chasseur to execute it, and despatched him for such purpose in the presence of the general; who struck with the lesson, turned coolly towards him, and said, "So, my good lieutenant, it seems you are become a great man." On the same day, however, he declared at table, in the presence of several officers, that Romberg had done well not to have debased his rank; that, for his own part, he liked to see a man properly jealous of his rights; that a well-timed resistance indicated a good officer, and restrained the general within proper bounds by hindering him from degrading his subalterns, as he awknowledged he had himself done that morning.

Although during the latter years of the war, Zieten had seldom met his regiment, he was never neglectful of any thing which he owed it in the capacity of its chief. The internal and particular arrangement of the corps was his

his own work, and its exploits his recompense. Through the whole army, and even among the enemy, one general opinion prevailed with regard to the good order and bravery of the troops. Governed by ambition, by emulation, and incited by glory, the hussars of Zieten, whether officers or private soldiers, were ever anxious to emulate their commander; and their commander carried the confidence he had in them to such a degree, as to imagine himself invincible at their head. Whenever it happened, that he encamped in the midst of his regiment, he considered himself more secure than he could be in any other situation, and, in such case, he would generally take a sudorific draught, with which he took care to be always provided. It was then of little import to him, whether the enemy were near or at a distance: after having visited the quarters, he would retire to his tent and give himself up to rest. He was one day so slightly guarded, and lay so much exposed to a sudden attack, that an officer, belonging to another regiment, could not refrain from remarking the danger he was in. Zieten made

made him no other reply than, "Am I not in the midst of my hussars?" The regiment caught the words; and what was nothing more than a well-deserved eulogium, proved a further encouragement to them, and strengthened the bands of affection and devotedness which attached them to their chief. After peace was made, his officers, petty officers, private soldiers, flocked to Zieten, as to their common father, to shew him the scars that graced their persons, and to remind him of the spots, and the honourable occasions, on which they had gained them.

His hussars had born a part in every principal battle. At Prague, they had snatched the palm of victory from the hostile cavalry, and prepared the success of the Prussians. At Collin, at Breslaw, they had no share in the defeat of the army. Before they assisted in gaining the battle of Leuthen, they had already bound their brows with laurels at Neumark; and after the victory, they had driven the enemy out of Silesia. At Zorndorf, they added to their reputation; at Hochkirchen, they

they saved the army; at Kunersdorf, the king. At Lignitz, they were the first who discovered the enemy, and the last who remained on the field of battle. Finally, at Torgaw they crowned their former exploits, in the resistance they made to a victorious enemy in pursuit of the king, by covering their vanquished countrymen; in repulsing a column of Austrian infantry; in routing a column of cavalry; in forming a junction with the Prussian army, and in checking the career of the enemy in order to afford Zieten time to overcome them. And yet the regiment was not complete at this period: a part was occupied in guarding general Saint-Ignon with eighteen officers (among whom were one colonel, and two majors,) and four hundred dragoons, who had been made prisoners before the engagement began.

In general, there had been no battle in which this regiment had acted ill; no officer belonging to it, who had not, more or less, distingished himself in pitched battles, encounters, or on particular occasions. To do

justice to all, they should be all named; but their number would be great, and we must be satisfied with recording the names of Seelen, Möhring, Sommogy, Probst the elder, Troschke, Herrmann, Mahlen, Velten, Lenz, Zettmar, Hund, Prittwitz, Probst the younger, Köhler, Wolfrath, Berg, Lestocq, Kordshagen, Drössel, Schulz, Kalis, Köppen, Voigt, Schwarz, Reizenstein, Möllendorf, Puttlitz, Biela, Breetz, Bock, Löwenek, the two Quasts, the two Jurgas's. Without presuming to decide whether the foregoing are the most celebrated, we may venture to assure the reader, that those we have omitted are highly entitled to honourable mention, and that none of them would disparage the list, whether those who have survived Zieten, or such, as having fallen in the field of battle, have preceded him to the grave. In general, from the camp of Pirna, down to the taking of Schweidnitz, there was scarcely an officer in the whole corps, who had not displayed talent, or courage, or presence of mind, or the union of these qualities together. Besides those who had been decorated with the order of military merit in

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the early campaigns of this famous war, there were several who owed that distinction to their exploits during the campaigns of 1760 and the three following years; and several to whom the king, since that period, granted patents of nobility.

The last battles in which Zieten's hussars had an opportunity of signalizing their accustomed valour, were those of Langensalza, Rudolstadt, Saalfeld, Hoyerswerda, Ditmannsdorf, Tharon, Boraw, Pantenaw, Habersdorf, Plauen, and Gottsberg. In these various actions, they were commanded by major de Prittwitz, except in that of Plauen (in 1761), whose unfortunate issue was owing to a point of honour which major de Hund had carried to a romantic extreme.

The victory remained doubtful. In vain major de Hund, who commanded the hussars, lifted up his hand, which had been just shattered by a musket-ball, in order to inflame his troops with courage and revenge; the enemy still remained invincible behind their intrench-

trenchments. At this moment, one of his brother-officers was illiberal enough to observe to him with a sneer, that his hussars took care to stoop in order to avoid the enemy's fire; when M. de Hund, by way of answer to so unmerited a charge, rushed with M. de Schulz and his small troop into the thick of the battle; and, after fighting with the most desperate valour, they all perished to a man.

In 1762, captain de Köhler displayed the talents of a great general at Gottsberg, in conducting through a numerous body of the enemy, a square battalion of infantry, flanked by his hussars.

We should be fearful of fatiguing the reader by any further detail on this head, how so ever instructive it may prove to men of the profession, and although authenticated by the most respectable authorities.

What Zieten's feelings must have been, when at the head of his regiment, he entered

ed the gates of Berlin, it is not easy to describe. Let the reader imagine what reflections must have engrossed his mind, during the whose march with regard to the issue of this long and perilous war, and the singular felicity of his having escaped without any accident, and returned with the perfect use of all his limbs. Thrice had he accompanied the king into Silesia; thrice had gathered laurels there, and acquired new glory. How sincere must his satisfaction have been, to have so religiously acquitted himself of his promise to fight and to conquer for his country! He might, indeed, have considered, as partly his own work, the future prosperity of a state, whose foundation had been laid by the war, whose after-progress would be the result of that glorious struggle; and such animating reflections must have afforded him no inconsiderable recompense for all his cares and toils.

These brilliant remembrances, the high rank to which his own merit had raised him, his intimate connections with the king, filled up the measure of his happiness, and left him no-

nothing further to desire. What he had formerly sown with pain, he now reaped with glory; and had it not been for the trials he had met with in the earlier stages of his life; the repeated victories he had gained over his passions; the progressive steps by which he arrived at so eminent a degree of perfection; — he would not have enjoyed, and preserved to the very close of his long career, that admirable serenity of mind which added new value to his existence and to all the advantages that attended it.

Each returning year produced him new sources of happiness and new honours. During the space of twenty-six years, his sovereign continued studiously attentive to distinguish him by fresh marks of his esteem, his friendship, it may almost be said, his veneration. The princes of the blood were eager to imitate the example of Frederick. Henry, Ferdinand, the presumptive heir to the crown, considered themselves honoured by the zeal they shewed to do justice to the merits of Zieten. The court, the strangers that visited Berlin, equally

equally admired the attentions which were shewn to this hero by those whose birth and rank were so far above his own; and, it was a fine spectacle for the whole country to see the subject thus noticed and caressed by his masters and by the family of his kings.

These distinctions, for which Zieten was indebted to his merit only, were no longer imbittered by envy. His enemies had disappeared, and among the witnesses to his glory, he could only reckon applauders and friends. His countrymen in general, whether in civil or military capacities, whether inhabitants of towns or villages, esteemed him, cherished him, and looked upon him as a father, revered him as a hero, and considered themselves in some degree as partakers of his glory.

His renown was not confined to the limits of his own country: it reached the most remote nations, where his name was universally mentioned with that of Frederick the Great. Of all the Prussian generals, there was not one whose exploits excited the curiosity of stran-

strangers to such a degree, or their eagerness to know him. In visiting the monuments, the beauties, the extraordinary characters of Berlin, they could not refrain from paying particular attention to whatever related to Zieten. The empress of Russia, the queen of Sweden, were pleased to request his portrait; the latter presented him, in return, with her own. His illustrious chief, prince Henry, likewise paid a similar attention to him.

It was not only in the field of grandeur that Zieten was loaded with these flattering distinctions: a new kind of glory attended him in the applauses of the lower classes of the people. His name was pronounced by them with enthusiasm; they paid him a kind of worship. There was scarcely a single person who was not accustomed to speak of him, who had not some striking particular to relate of him, who had not procured his portrait, whether well or ill engraved, and who did not take a pleasure in placing it beside that of the king. Zieten and his hussars were seen in the poorest houses, and their exploits and praises,

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in bad verses, were pasted against every cottage-wall. A tobacconist at Aken upon the Elbe, made choice of his picture to wrap up his wares, and the envelope soon rendered the manufactory celebrated, and its concerns extensive.

Those who were personally acquainted with Zieten, have generally acknowledged that it was not to his external appearance that he was indebted for the universal homage which was paid him: it was solely owing to the qualities of his mind.

Zieten was low of stature, meager, but well built; his face was oval, his hair dark-brown, his forehead flat, his eyes large and blue. His mouth was somewhat wide, his lips thick, and the under one marked with a deep scar. * His features were strong, his countenance masculine and somewhat harsh, though not deficient

* He was wounded in the mouth, when a lieutenant, upon a recruiting-party.

ficient in harmony. His looks were steady, his eye full of expression and fire, and his face highly characteristic of seriousness and dignity.

His attitude was erect, his gait free and easy. He was brisk in his motions; could use his sword in either hand, a circumstance, that proved advantageous to him on several occasions. He danced * with singular grace, rode boldly and with great ease; and to the very end of his life, he preferred the lightest and most mettlesome steed to any other. Whether on horseback or on foot, all his movements were alert: on all other occasions, they were sedate and slow; and he who saw him in his chamber engaged in his domestic affairs, could hardly suppose him to be endowed with that degree of activity, resolution, and boldness which always characterised him in public.

Averse

* He could not recollect to have danced more than eight times since he was a mere stripling.

Averse to loquacity, he could say much in few words. His answers were just and precise; his replies not deficient in point and smartness. His voice was rough and manly: he gave the word of command with peculiar distinctness. His whole person announced serenity, experience, and firmness of character; commanded attention, obedience, and respect.

He was remarkably neat and clean in the article of dress. Such had been his practice from his earliest youth, and he never ceased to observe it to the latest period of his life. To that period, he was always found with his regimentals on, early every morning. He generally wore his hat in his room for the purpose of keeping his head warm. As soon as he was dressed, his valet was ordered to leave him: it was then his custom to say his prayers; a duty which he was never known to neglect, even during his severest indispositions.

His breakfast consisted of a bason of soup and some slices of bread and butter. He would

would never take either tea or coffee, except a kind of tea, made of lemon-peel, which he sometimes drank by way of diet-drink, as prescribed by his physician.

He dined with good appetite, and commonly on three dishes. No other vegetable than carrots ever appeared on his table. He eat that root the whole year round for the sake of his health, * and drank either water, or a diet-drink which he prepared himself from a receipt with which his favourite physician, M. Oehm, had formerly furnished him. At supper, it was his custom to eat of two light dishes, almost always the same things, which he likewise partook of with good appetite, and without touching any other of the meats that were on the table. He had adopted this rule out of regard for his health, and every

* Hotz, the celebrated physician, brother to the Austrian general of that name, assures us, that the man who would eat carrots every day of his life would stand in no need of medicines.

every time he swerved from it, his intemperance was punished by indigestions; so that after many trials, he submitted to this regimen, which he continued ever after to observe very scrupulously, and at length it became a matter of no sacrifice to him.

The patriarchal simplicity in which he lived was practiced by him to the last moments of his life with such a degree of firmness, that at the age of eighty-four, his most intimate friends could not prevail on him to make use of an elbow-chair of a more commodious construction than that to which he had been generally accustomed.

His turn for hospitality increased with his years, and although he was so abstemious with regard to himself, he took great delight in having his table profusely spread with the best things each season afforded. He was fond of seeing it frequented, as well as to share in the general hilarity of his guests. Without standing in need of any such amusements to fill up the vacuities of life, he indulged

dulged himself in them with the highest satisfaction: they by no means influenced his way of living, but rather tended to give it new charms; and the visits which he received at Wustrau, and in the capital, became more and more agreeable to him. He received his friends with an engaging sort of kindness as bordered upon gratitude; and he was studiously careful to provide every thing that could any way contribute to their enjoyments. At Wustrau, in particular, he would invite young people of both sexes to balls and social diversions. He was happy to be surrounded with officers of his own regiment, and that of prince Ferdinand, which from the conclusion of the peace, he cherished almost equally with his own. Several witnesses to these agreeable rustic entertainments are still alive, in whose memories this brief description must awaken many a pleasing idea, and who must all allow that old Zieten, without derogating in the least from the native dignity of his character, was an adept in propagating delight, and in giving new zest to harmless frolics. To his more select associations he admitted officers of dis-

distinction and merit only. The conversation would then commonly turn upon military affairs, and in which he was always careful not to speak of his own exploits.

Every officer in the army who had distinguished himself by acts of valour or general probity of conduct, bore a high rank in his esteem. He would honour such as if their principal object had been to please himself only. He was ever looking after concealed desert; was fond of exposing it to view, and he has often been able, through his representations to the sovereign, to crown it with final, though tardy, recompense.

His gratitude to those who had rendered him services during the war, was boundless, and indiscriminately extended to all of them. Sometimes, indeed, he was apt to carry his attention, in this respect, too far. A spy who had been of use to him in the late campaigns, he afterwards made his valet-de-chambre: the man, however, not only abused the trust the general placed in him, but likewise his good-

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ness and indulgence; and it was not before he found himself repeatedly and grossly deceived, that Zieten was induced to discharge him from his service.

In his youth, the general had been extremely fond of the chase: he afterwards neglected that diversion; and in the decline of life, he had seldom recourse to it but for the sake of the exercise it afforded him, and the pleasure it gave to his friends. He conquered, at the same time, another custom, which in his earlier years he had carried to excess. After having been the most inveterate smoker of the whole army; after having made his pipe his inseparable, and even table, companion, for forty years together, he suddenly refrained from the use of it to the great surprise of all his acquaintance. Matthisson the poet had procured a porcelain pipe ornamented with the portrait of Zieten: this pipe has since made part of the reigning prince of Wittgenstein's collection of smoking apparatus, where it is now preserved as a relic. Zieten is represented as the patron of smokers, with the hus-

hussar-cap on his head, and, consequently, at a time of life, in which he had left off the use of the pipe.

With regard to his passions of a complexional nature, he had early learnt, by the assistance of reason, to gain the mastery over them; though he found it impossible to stifle them entirely.

To the thirst of glory and ambition, which during the period of youth had proved both his bane and good fortune, had succeeded a sentiment of honour of a more peaceable nature, though still founded upon a noble pride, which would never suffer him to give up the smallest of his rights, were it even to the first man in the kingdom. He had never varied his opinion with regard to these sentiments; they had actuated him from his earliest youth, and he considered them as peculiarly characteristic of the military profession; hence, one day, when a lieutenant, belonging to his regiment, was making complaint to him of some offensive language which had been given

him by a senior officer, Zieten made him no other reply than this, "If you hesitate, Sir, on what part you have to act; I can have no advice to offer you on the subject."

Proneness to anger was the last enemy he had to subdue, and over which, it could not be said he was ever able to gain a complete triumph. He was one day on the point of pushing down stairs an officer of another regiment, who had taken an hussar from him, and who had come to make his excuses in person. All his officers, without exception, the moment they happened to depart from the line of their duty, were sure of incurring his anger, and of finding him inexorable. In all other cases, and where there was no question of military service, he acted in a very different manner, and those about him were scarce able to conceive him to be the same person. It would be difficult to find a single instance of his having abandoned himself up to anger with any of his own servants or the peasantry of Wustrau. He was satisfied with giving them a reprimand, and, at most, confined himself to threats

threats of punishment, without ever having recourse to any acts of violence: and this distinction, which he knew how to make between the king's service and his own, shews the importance he affixed to the former, and the obligation under which he considered himself of not giving way to his feelings, but to have due respect for the invariable letter of the law.

It cannot be denied that, in his youth, Zieten was violently devoted to the passion of love, and that he was frequently entangled in its snares. His own experience, however, rendered him indulgent to the foibles of others, and his young officers had no occasion to complain of their general's severity on the subject of their amorous follies. He would often rally them at his own table, with great good nature and pleasantry, upon their good or ill fortunes: but whenever he discovered that innocence had been seduced, or abandoned by its betrayer to want and infamy; that the peace of a family had been ruined, and the sacred ties of the conjugal union violated, he

was unable to set any bounds to his indignation and resentment. The tender passion may, indeed, have captivated, and led astray, his senses, but it was never able to subjugate his heart entirely: it never checked his activity, nor shackled his genius; nor ever palsied his arm. His country commanded his first homage; the fair sex had only a secondary claim to his attentions. He was ever alive to the power of beauty, to the charms of wit, and to the graces. Such sentiments, indeed, it was his pride to avow.

Self-interest was a passion to which he was, during his whole life, a total stranger. This passion is generally supposed to be the growing infirmity of age. He was invariably deaf to its suggestions: to his latest hour, he remained liberal, generous, sensible to the misfortunes of others, and totally indifferent to what related merely to his own welfare. The desire of amassing wealth could never find any place in his heart; that of bestowing took up too much room there, to allow of its admission. On the suppression of the right of com-

monage

ménage at Wustrau, he resigned the most valuable portions to his peasants: upon every occasion, he gave up his own privileges, augmented theirs, and was ever bettering their circumstances. He planted colonies on his estate, built them houses and barns at his own expense, and extended his bounties to such of the neighbouring villages as solicited his patronage and protection. When he had at length, by means of certain loans, acquired the whole lordship of Wustrau, and it was necessary to rebuild a part of the village, he employed, during the leisure of the winter season, all the idle hands in the neighbourhood, and generously rewarded their labour. So little regard had he for money, that one day he replied to a person, every way entitled to make representations on the subject of economy to him, "I hope you put no value upon that dirt of Eldorado."

The noblest point of view in which Zieten remains to be considered is that of a man, who invariably entertained the most hallowed regard for religion. Hence the pure source of

of all his virtues, and all his morality; hence that extreme indifference, that entire abnegation of himself, whenever his own interests came in competition with those of another; hence, from his earliest career of life, when he first began to push his fortune in the world, that uncommon delicacy of character which never allowed him to have recourse to any indirect or disingenuous expedients; and hence, when arrived to the summit of his glory, that noble serenity of mind, unimbittered by reproach; that pure and unalterable felicity, which crowned the evening of his days, and repayed the toils of a useful and well-spent life.

The piety of Zieten was entirely distinct from all mechanical devotion or superstitious servility. His sentiments of religion were pure and simple. He considered it as an homage due to the supreme being; and as long as his health permitted him, he was a constant frequenter of public worship.

At no time, indeed, was he ever neglectful of the duty of prayer; nor did a day pass over

over his head, without his having acquitted himself of it in the silence of his closet, excluded from the observation of the whole world. His prayers were not limited to any fixed periods; he consecrated to that duty his occasional moments of solitude, his watchings, his sleepless hours; and his couch was often found to have been watered with his tears.

The alarms of war were now over, and Frederick and his fellow-soldiers were at length to taste the sweets of repose. The wounds of their country began to close up, and the reign of order to succeed to that of tumult and destruction. It was Zieten's particular object to re-establish that order in his own regiment. The discipline of camps too frequently grows relaxed; the duty of a hussar, during the campaign, is attended with innumerable deviations which are inseparable from the nature of war, and to which hostilities of seven years' duration seemed to have given a sanction. When returned to their garrisons, the soldiers had to lay aside the habits of a vagabond life, and to submit to the yoke

yoke of a new system of things. Zieten thought fit to begin this reformation with his officers. On their march from the theatre of war, he found it necessary to treat them with a severity which they little expected after their exploits and the indulgence he had usually shewn them during the late campaigns; — and ere they came within sight of the walls of Berlin, they had already acquired a competent idea of the spirit of order which was to reign there.

The regiment approached the capital, and formed in a line before one of the gates. Zieten despatched an officer to prince Henry, to announce his return to him in the king's absense, as his senior general. During the time in which the prince was expected to arrive, in order to put himself at the head of the regiment and conduct it in triumph into the city, the general reviewed the equipments of his officers, into which several alterations and abuses had lately found their way, and he declared to them his resolution of restoring things to their former state. In the mean while,

while, the officer despatched to prince Henry, announced, by mistake, the arrival of the troops to the prince of Prussia, afterward Frederick William II. The heir to the throne appeared: he was Zieten's junior general. The latter taking him for prince Henry, gave the signal of salutation, drew his sabre, and ordered his hussars to do the same: but perceiving his error, he loudly blamed the officer who had been the cause of it, and peremptorily commanded the troops to sheath their swords; nor did he pay the prince his particular homage before he had executed what the laws of subordination and military etiquette required at his hands.

Happy the subject, happy the inhabitants of a country, where the laws are paramount to every other consideration; where the general may venture to withhold military honours from a prince of the blood and heir to the crown, should his rank in the army be beneath his own. Happy the country, in which that prince was the first to applaud the conduct of Zieten, who had thus acted the

the part of a general in preference to that of a courtier.

After having made every necessary arrangement in the garrison and provided for the accommodation of his regiment, Zieten visited his favourite villa at Wustrau, from whence he had been so long absent. The pleasure he felt on this occasion was heightened by a circumstance that had taken place there since he had last left it, and which did great honour to the Swedish troops. In one of their campaigns, they had penetrated as far as this village, when hearing it was the property of the celebrated Zieten who was waging war against them and their allies, they not only refrained from touching any thing that belonged to him, but manifested the high respect they bore him by placing sentinels before his house, examining his portrait with admiration, and by many other *traits*, equally flattering and agreeable.

From Wustrau, Zieten went to Carlsbad with a view of recovering his health, and he had

had every reason to be satisfied with his excursion. He gained much with regard to health, and was highly flattered with the attentions paid him there, as well as upon the road. At Zwickaw, where he had often appeared as an enemy, a guard of honour was given him; and although he staid there but a few hours, the officers of the garrison, with the magistrates, waited upon him in a body to pay him their respects. The inhabitants assembled before the post-house to see the man, who, during the late war, had so essentially mitigated its horrors, who had encouraged them to support the hardships it laid them under, with patience and resignation, who at one time, had joined them in their public devotions, at another, partaken of their balls and entertainments, with a view of affording his officers an example of order and decency, and the town, a mark of his benevolence. At Görlitz, at Schneeberg, and, in general, along the whole road, the inhabitants were eager to give him the most honourable reception, and in a manner that shewed he had treated Saxony and Lusatia more like a benefactor

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than an enemy. When he arrived at Carlsbad, he met with several Austrian generals, among whom were counts Wartensleben, Harrach, and Buquoi; M. de Nugent, M. de Stampach, and general de Laudon. It was a fine spectacle to behold Laudon and Zieten, after having exerted their military talents with so much ardour against each other, now united together in the bands of friendship and become inseparable companions.

On this journey, Zieten made the acquaintance of Gellert the poet; who during the late war had been honoured with that of the king. In one of the letters of this celebrated writer, the general's portrait is drawn in a masterly manner, except in one particular point, in which the poet has not done him justice. Gellert represents him deep in the decline of life, and even bordering upon a state of decrepitude. This was not at all the case with our general. In his sixty-fifth year, far from giving up the enjoyments of life, he was paying his addresses to a lady to supply the place of the excellent woman he had lost before

before the beginning of the war. He had not, indeed, waited for peace ere he formed this project: he had made an excursion from his winter-quarters at Meissen as far as Wustrau, and seen the lady, to whom he secretly destined his hand, at that place, where she then was upon a visit to his family. He made her an offer it on the conclusion of peace, and the offer was accepted. This lady was Mlle. de Platen of the house of Mesendorf in the province of Prignitz: she had no fortune, but had received an excellent education, and was a woman of sense and of an amiable disposition.

Zieten gave the king a very agreeable surprise by requesting his consent to this marriage; and this may be perceived from the gay turn of his majesty's answer.

"My dear general de Zieten.

By your letter of the 4th instant, you ask my consent to your marriage with Mlle. de Platen. I grant it with great pleasure, and wish you all possible happiness on the occasion.

sion. If I knew where the nuptials are to be celebrated, I should not fail to be with you, on purpose to dance with the bride. I remain your affectionate king,

Potsdam, April 7th, 1764.

Frederick."

The ceremony was performed at the bride's sister and brother-in-law's. * The next day, a ball was given, and notwithstanding his thirteen lustres, Zieten who had arranged the whole entertainment, astonished the company by the grace and agility with which he went down the dance. The king, though absent, signalized this fete by a present of a valuable diamond ring which he sent to the bride.

The following year, Mad. de Zieten brought him a son; and the king, who had promised to be sponsor to the child, came to Berlin from Potsdam on purpose, to be present at the cere-

* M. and Mad. de Blumenthal of Krampfer in the province of Prignitz.

ceremony of baptism. His majesty was pleased to advance the new-born infant to the rank and pay of a cornet in its father's own regiment, and made Mad. de Zieten a present of four magnificent silver girandoles.

To the satisfaction he felt on the birth of his child, was added that which resulted from the warm part the king took in his happiness, and the flattering and distinguished manner in which his majesty was pleased to shew it. It was not every day that Frederick appointed officers in their cradles, or waited on his subjects to hold their children at the baptismal font.

Sensible of this favour, Zieten was far from making an improper use of it. He brought up his son in those principles which were one day to make him worthy of these anticipated advantages. At the age of twelve, he placed him in the academy of nobles, without allowing him to advance at all in his regiment; and when his friends would urge the king's intentions and the sanction of custom, in opposition

position to his measure; he would reply with warmth, and observe, that his son was but a mere child. At length, when the boy was incorporated in the regiment, the general consented to his being named second lieutenant in the place of M. de Malzahn; and in this manner it was, that the delicacy and scruples of his father prevented him from attaining to the the rank of lieutenant earlier than the year 1782; seventeen years after he had been appointed cornet. The regiment, the army, the public, admired this disinterested procedure, and acknowledged the greatness of the sacrifice. The paternal heart of Zieten had long resisted its own impulses, together with the repeated remonstrances of his friends. It was in vain, that M. de Krockow, at that time *commandant* of the regiment, with the whole corps of officers, solicited him to avail himself of the royal bounty in behalf of his son; the more they urged it, the more obstinately he persisted in his refusal. At length, M. de Krockow perceiving, that no impression could be made upon the determined firmness of his mind, he was induced to make direct application

cation to the king, without the general's knowledge, and to propose his son as lieutenant in the place of an officer, who had just died. Frederick approved of the colonel's zeal, while he honoured the scruples of the general, and replied with regard to the young man, that he waited till his worthy father should himself make the application.

Zieten was kept a perfect stranger to this business, which might have exposed the colonel to some friendly reproaches on his part. Soon after this, he afforded the generals of the army an example of another kind, in the readiness of his submission to the orders of the king. A new military arrangement, which had lately taken place, was at this time, the subject of much discontent. The king had destined his regiments to undergo a very severe scrutiny, and given such extensive powers to the different inspectors, as to enable them, in a great degree, to represent himself. The multiplicity of his labours, and the manifold branches of administration, justified such step, as well as rendered it neces-

sary; yet it was calculated to affect in a very sensible manner, a great number of officers, who were thereby made subordinate, not only to their equals, but to their juniors. The time drew near, when the several inspectors were to review the regiments which belonged to their division. That of Zieten, which was submitted to the inspection of general de Lölhöfel, attended on the Wilhelms-Platz. * The eyes of the whole garrison were fixed upon this regiment, and upon its chief. The latter had hitherto concealed his sentiments with regard to this novel arrangement, and he was now about to manifest them. The generals were impatient to see how he would act on this occasion: he soon exhibited a fine example, and it was cheerfully followed by all of them. Though the inspector was by far his junior, he waited for him with the same attention which the lowest soldier could have been expected to pay him. He was on foot, with his drawn sabre in his hand; and in

* A fine square in Berlin.

in such respecful attitude, he remained standing at the head of his regiment. General de Lölhöfel could scarcely believe the evidence of his own eyes: the moment he recognised him, he alighted from his horse, and accosting him, begged that he might no longer be put out of countenance by such a singular act of condescention; when Zieten, without changing his posture, and with a view of instructing him in the nature of his duty, replied, "General, you represent the king, and it is to him, and not to you, that my homage is addressed."

At the grand reviews, he was always charged with the command of the cavalry. The inspector received his orders, and caused them to be executed in the line. Lieutenant-general de Krusemark, who was inspector in the year 1773, having died a little before the review, and the post still remaining vacant, Zieten undertook to command the line in person. He was now seventy-six years old, and it was imagined that the task would prove too hard for him. General de Wiersbitzky sent

to beg leave to attend him for the purpose of executing his orders. Zieten informed him by his aide-de-camp, lieutenant de Jurgas, that it was needless to give himself any trouble, and that he was requested to remain at the head of his own regiment: but, having observed the general had said something to that officer, before he could prevail upon himself to yield to the injunction, Zieten made inquiry into the nature of it. Wiersbitzky, it seems, was fearful that the general's voice would not be heard along the whole line, and had desired the aide-de-camp to make a signal with his cap the moment Zieten should have given the word to halt after the charge. The latter, piqued at this precaution, commanded his aide-de-camp not to take any notice of it. "We want no signal;" said he, "nor can I allow of any, as it is not our custom; they will see when I lower my sabre and turn my horse." At this moment, the king came up. His majesty knew Zieten, and of course was aware that he was still able to perform his duty. The charge was sounded; it was begun without the least confusion, was carried on

and

and concluded, to the astonishment of all the spectators, and to the entire satisfaction of his majesty. On the second day, every thing proceeded well, and on the third, notwithstanding his informities and the impaired state of his memory, Zieten was able to retain the king's disposition, and to communicate it in a correct manner to the several generals under his command. Furthermore, two extra-manœuvres, which he executed off-hand, and which made no part of the general plan of the day, were honoured with the warmest applauses of the sovereign.

This was the last time that he undertook the command at a review; and if he was afterwards present on such occasions, it was only as chief of his own regiment; and whenever he failed to attend, it was on account of indisposition.

In the year 1790, he was for the first time detained at home by illness. When the review was over, the king, much alarmed at the general's situation, rode directly from the field

field to his house to see him; and after conversing for some time with him, he said, "I am not the only one of your old friends that pay you a visit; there is another of them waiting in the antichamber; can you guess his name?" It was the reigning duke of Brunswick, the father to the present one.

Every reader of feeling will certainly participate in the satisfaction and triumph of Zieten; who, if he owed in part this distinction to his military exploits, was likewise indebted for it to his singular probity of character.

In the course of this year, the king made him a present of ten thousand dollars, on account of a considerable loss he had suffered at Wustrau from a epidemical disorder that raged among his cattle. He had lately made an acquisition of two thirds of that manor, together with all the live-stock, * and, as it has

* The proprietors of land, in this country, as well as in many other parts of Germany, furnish their several farms with cattle and with various utensils of husbandry.

has been already observed, had raised money to make good his purchase. The disaster was severely felt by him; yet it was foreign to his disposition, and inconsistent with his principles, to complain; nor would the king have heard of this accident, and the embarrassment in which it involved the general, had not colonel de Prittwitz, the *commandant* of his regiment, thought fit to let him into the secret. The king partook of Prittwitz' kind solicitude, and determined to administer relief. The affair was negotiated with the greatest delicacy and concealment; Zieten had not the least suspicion that his colonel had done him this piece of service; nor did the circumstance transpire till a long while after, thro' the confession of third person, who was privy to the transaction.

From the cessation of hostilities till the death of Zieten, several court-martials had been held at his house; and the following letter from the king is the only document of this nature, that has been found among the general's papers.

"My

"My dear general de Zieten.

In answer to your report of the 10th, relative to the court-martial for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of generals de Finck, de Gersdorf, and de Rebentisch, I hereby inform you, that I have named de Wedel to attend it in the capacity of lieutenant-general. I have likewise named de Czettritz and de Wylich in the same capacity. I have been unable to make any further nominations, on account of the distance of the parties. As to major-generals, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors; there are many of them at hand, and you may make your own election. Furthermore, I shall myself inform the three lieutenant-generals of the choice I have made of them; and I remain your affectionate king,

Berlin, May 19th, 1763.

Frederick."

(In his own hand.)

"Forcade may be admitted into the court-martial."

In

In one of these court-martials, he had an affair with general de Ramin, the governor of Berlin, which made too much noise at the time, not to deserve some mention here.

A court-martial was appointed to be held upon general de Reizenstein. The king had named Zieten president, and generals de Ramin, Wedel, Krusemark, Koschenbahr, Braun, Steinkeller, together with the colonels, and left to him the task of giving the usual notice to the lieutenant-colonels and majors. Zieten made ready to obey the king's orders, and despatched his aide-de-camp to invite the generals and colonels to the session, and to dine with him. He gave him particular directions to request general de Ramin to convoke the necessary lieutenant-colonels and majors. The general, in a moment of ill-humour, refused the commission, and alledged, that he could see no reason why the president had not done that himself. Zieten, much astonished at this answer, inquired if the general was indisposed, and was informed, that he was in perfect health, and just going out upon a shooting-par-

party. The president grew angry, and sent back his aide-de-camp to the governor, not to request, but to order, him to execute the above commission. The second message proved as unavailing as the first. The governor replied, that Zieten might address himself to the place-major, * and make his arrangements with him. The aide-de-camp began to remonstrate, but he was soon interrupted, and sent back with instructions to repeat what he had just heard. Zieten, more astonished than ever, replied, "I cannot conceïve how general de Ramin can thus neglect my orders. Return immediately to him, and tell him, that if he persists in not giving notice to the officers, I shall put him under arrest, and make report of it to the king. Take one of my horses for the sake of expedition." The task was an unpleasant one; but Zieten was not to be trifled with; the aide-de-camp mounted the horse, and arrived at M. de Ramin's: it was

* An officer who is charged with the detail of the garrison.

was late, and the governor was already gone to-bed. It was with great difficulty that he could get himself announced: he was at length admitted, and received the following answer: "Well, Sir, I shall take care to summons the officers in question, because, it seems, I am compelled to it; but I shall not stay to dinner."

In the seventy-ninth year of his age, Zieten experienced one of the most painful trials he had ever met with in the course of his whole life. It was in 1778: the Bavarian war had just broke out; the troops received orders to march; his equipments were ready, and he himself was likewise prepared. A new ardour circulated through his veins, and restored the vigour of his better days; but he was soon informed that the king was going to make the campaign without him, and that his name was not inscribed in the war-establishment. He immediately wrote his majesty a very pressing letter, and received the following answer.

"My dear general de Zieten.

The apprehension I am under, that the state

state of your health will not allow you to undertake the present campaign, is the sole reason for my not having appointed you to accompany me. I am extremely mortified to be forced to leave you behind me; yet you cannot but be aware, that at your time of life, and after the fatigues you have already undergone, you would be unable to support the toils of a new war; and you must likewise feel that you stand in need of repose. I remain your affectionate king,

Potsdam, March 25th, 1778.

Frederick."

Zieten was not to be repulsed at the first blow. He returned to the charge, redoubled his solicitations; but the answer he obtained was similar to that he had just before received.

"My dear general de Zieten.

In reply to your letter of the 27th, I hasten to inform you how mortified I am to leave you in garrison on account of your health, which, as I have already said, will not allow you to go thro' the labours of the cam-

campaign. I am convinced of your good will; but no man is required to exert himself beyond his powers, and all you have now to do, is to rest from your past fatigues. I remain your very affectionate king,

Potsdam, March 26th, 1778.

Frederick."

We shall not attempt to describe what Zieten felt, when he saw the departure of the king and the army. The day on which his regiment left Berlin, was a day of mourning to him. Before sunrise, he was in the circus, near the Halle-gate, to take leave of his pupils, his children; and he exhorted them, in a short and pathetic speech, to be mindful of what they owed to their country, to their profession, and to their reputation. The good old man could not refrain from shedding tears, nor was the regiment less affected on the occasion. The tears of the brave are graceful, and the hardiest soldier needs not blush to give way to them. On his return to his house, and for a long time after, the conflict of his mind was visible on his countenance.

His

His grief was, indeed, mute but it was the more pungent: it broke out in complaints but once, and that happened on the day of the departure. In the midst of his family, and surrounded by the group of females who chiefly composed it, he suddenly exclaimed, after a very long silence, and with a deep sigh; "Alas! I have now nothing to do but to raise a regiment of women!"

At length he could no longer bear to reside in Berlin: he went to Wustrau, but unaccompanied with the ardour and activity which had hitherto attended him there. He caused several tables to be placed together in his dining-room, covered them with the best maps he could procure of theatre of the war, and passed whole hours in poring over them. In a short time, he began to recover his former tranquillity of mind, became more gay and communicative; and, at this time it was, that the grateful woman, whom he honoured with his friendship and his confidence, and who has since ventured to compile these memoirs; attentive to these recitals, snatched from oblivion

vion such particulars as discretion permitted him to impart to her, and has incorporated them in the monument she has raised to her hero. In the recitals and various details into which he entered, he refrained from touching upon one point only, — his own panegyric. Lavish in the praise of others, he often withheld that justice from himself which was his acknowledged due; and instead of enlarging upon his proper exploits, he dwelt only on the trials and vicissitudes of his life. When he came to the story of his duel in Prussia, to the brewer's lever which he wielded for want of a sword, the old man seemed to forget his age, and starting from his seat with all the fire of youth, put his recital into action. It was thus, that instead of requiring from the companions of his retreat and sorrows, the consolations they were ill-able to afford him, he took pleasure in contributing to their amusement and instruction.

But scarcely had he heard that the king, with the Prussian army, had returned in peace, than he hastened to meet his regiment; and great

great was his satisfaction to find it considerably improved by the exercise the campaign had afforded it. He had next the pleasure to welcome his royal master's return, and to find that his friendship for him had not been at all diminished by absence. This moment effaced the remembrance of that of the departure; he forgot the refusal which had given him so much pain; — and which was the last vexation that imbittered his life.

Happy in the repose his country now enjoyed; happy in the return of his beloved regiment, in the reiterated marks of the favour and esteem of his sovereign, and in the peculiar felicity of his own family, he had now nothing more, on this side the grave, to wish for. At Wustrau, (where it had been his custom since 1766, to pass some months in the year,) his peasantry and all his neighbours ever rejoiced sincerely at his return. On his arrival, his first care was to examine the progress of various improvements which had been carried on during his absence; on his leaving the place, he planned new ones, and began to anticipate the future

future satisfaction they were to afford him. The last satisfaction of this nature was the improvement of a waste and sandy spot of ground, which he had rendered arable and fertile, and which had produced him a remarkable fine crop of barley. He never calculated the advantages or expense of such undertakings; he was satisfied with the idea of clearing, building, embellishing, finding useful occupation for a multitude of hands, — of employing his own time in a useful manner, and, in a word, of promoting honest industry throughout the whole neighbourhood. When he had already passed his eightieth year, he undertook a considerable edifice, which he had long had in contemplation, and which he still hoped to see completed, though a work of some years. This was the steeple of the parish church of Wustrau, which now serves as a principal ornament of the village. He applied a great portion of his pay and rents to the gratification of his passion for building; and the able economy of his lady, to whom he committed the entire management of his family concerns, rendered these extra-expen-

ses less prejudicial to his fortune than they were generally supposed to be.

We would wish to be able to describe his domestic happiness; — but to have an adequate idea of it, the reader should have seen, experienced, and partaken of it with him. His lady, his children, all who were about him, or served him, were indebted to him for the happiest moments of their lives. He was the beloved master of his family, the boast of all who belonged to him. His domestics were proud to be in his service, and to wear his livery. Of his three children, the eldest, a daughter by his former lady, was married during her father's life-time, to M. de Jurgas, of the house of Ganzer. His other daughter, after his death, married major de Zieten, of the carbineers, a gentleman of the family of Wildberg. His son, the godson of Frederick the Great, quitted the army on account of his health, soon after his father's decease: the states of the county of Ruppin have lately named him their provincial counsellor.

It was, indeed, an engaging spectacle to see the old general, with his white head of hair, in the midst of his rising family, taking part in their pastimes, superintending their education, declaring himself to be the happiest of fathers, and returning thanks to heaven for having given him so excellent a wife. With regard to the delicate attentions he always shewed her, the most tender and complaisant of lovers could not easily surpass them. He anticipated, rather than gratified, her wishes; and in endeavouring to make her happy, he considered himself as merely paying a debt. One day he expressed in one word, his high opinion of her merit, when, with a tear starting from his eye, he exclaimed to her; "God reserves such women as you for those he loves."

It has been already remarked that Zieten, as he advanced in years, became more gentle, communicative, sociable, and indulgent; and that he took more delight than usual in opening his heart to some of his most intimate friends. While other old men obstinately refuse to advance with the world in their ca-

reer, and form a contrast with the century in which they live, Zieten, in most respects, kept pace with his, by his ready approbation of such modifications as time and custom had introduced therein. Among other particulars, he ceased to insist upon a point, in which he had ever been extremely rigid, — the cut and fashion of the military dress. He allowed his officers to comply with the modern mode, under certain limitations which he thought fit to prescribe and to insist upon with severity. With regard to the females who composed his family, he wished to see them dressed with neatness and taste; in all other respects, he referred them to the tribunal of fashion.

Ever satisfied with the present, he would not, like most other old men, complain that the world, of whose enjoyments he could not, as formerly, partake, was no longer the same, but that it was every day growing worse. On the contrary, Zieten could sincerely welcome the verdure of spring, could bask in the sunshine of summer, relish the fruits of au-

autumn, and live upon hope during the rigours of winter. The various vicissitudes of nature, the war of the elements, an agreeable prospect, were all capable of affording him delight; and those who have accompanied him to Wustrau, have often witnessed and shared his transports on such occasions.

His free and unprejudiced observation enabled him duly to appretiate the moral as well as the physical world. The experience of his younger days had taught him, that close to the man of worth are often found the wicked, the impostor, the intriguer, and the base, engaged in the same pursuit in the road to fortune: and having, during his whole life, entertained a proper distrust of those who had owed their advancement to indirect practices, he rendered double homage to such as were obligated for their success to their talents and virtues only.

In general, while his bodily frame was sinking into decay, his mind seemed to lose nothing of its accustomed vigour. He never yield-

yielded, but to himself: no one was ever known to have triumphed over his inclinations; he had never either said or done, but what he himself had purposed. In the latter days of his life, one of his most intimate friends, who knew him thoroughly, who saw him every day, and by whom he was highly esteemed, having pressed him to relate the story of his duels, Zieten shewed him the crooked finger of his right hand, * and observed, that he did not come into the world with that blemish. More, he could not be prevailed upon to say.

With regard to what related to executive justice, he was never known to err. Indulgent to all around him, particularly to such as were weak and unprotected, he would allow no one to give him offence, or do him any wrong. As soon as the business admitted of any doubt, it was his custom to appeal to the decision of the laws. Without having ever liked

* See volume I. page 67.

liked litigations, he never avoided them when he considered such proceedings as necessary to the maintenance of truth and justice.

He never spoke of death as an event near at hand. That mixture of devotion and discontent, so common among old people, was entirely foreign to his disposition. On the contrary, he delighted in consoling such as trembled at their dissolution, and he would encourage them with hopes of long life by every argument that reason, good humour, and his own example, could suggest. He had, however, long betaken himself to prepare in silence for his own exit; and, as if he looked upon it as near at hand, had recourse to a precaution which manifested his fidelity both to the king and the state, and the tranquillity with which he considered that awful period. He committed to the flames the principal documents of his correspondence with his sovereign during the three wars. This task was performed at Wustrau, and in the following manner. After having employed his son-in-law and another confidential person, to carry

carry into his bed-chamber and place before the fire, a large box filled with letters, many of which were written in ciphers, he requested to be left alone. When his friends returned to him, they found the box empty. Zieten thought it a duty incumbent on him, to destroy papers, the communication of which might have proved dangerous, and their abuse, pernicious.

During his residence at Wustrau, he never failed to visit Berlin once a month, for the purpose of seeing his regiment, of which, as has been already observed, he was extremely fond. The further he advanced in years, the more he grew attached to his corps of officers. He delighted in having the senior ones at his table, to see the young ones on horseback, or in groups on the parade. He admired the gracefulness of their carriage, and their expertness in military exercises; nor was he a little proud of his nursery of heroes; and though short of stature himself, he liked tall men, and had made choice of such, in preference, for his officers. With regard to his veteran

teran companions in war, they impressed him with sentiments of a different and more serious cast. As soon as he recognised one of them (for he began to grow near-sighted), he was sure to receive him with a friendly and affectionate exclamation. One day, colonel de Lentz accosted him; "What! is it you, my old comrade?" he cried, "Come, we have had many a hard day together." At another time (it was new-years' day, on which it was customary for the whole corps of officers to pay him their respects), he perceived lieutenant de Kalis in the throng; and having called him, presented his cheek to him, and cried; "Embrace me, my good friend; you were of great service to me at Domstädtel."

One of his old officers having lamented to him, that he had not yet received the military cross, of which, he took occasion to remark, he considered himself as deserving as the rest of his comrades; and, at the same time, accusing one of the generals of having forgotten him; Zieten replied, "Be satisfied with the consciousness of having merited the distinc-

distinction you have not received. Honour does not consist in decorations; and the reputation of a brave officer is worth all the ribbons and all the crosses in the world."

During his whole life, he strenuously endeavoured to estimate the true value of things; not to rate the advantages of fortune and glory at more than they were worth; to enjoy them with moderation and dignity. We have seen his king, his country unweariedly lavishing the choicest honours upon him. When turned of fourscore, he was still treated with the like enthusiastic attentions; the pleasure of seeing him seemed to have lost nothing of the charm of novelty. Whenever he appeared in the streets of Berlin, the passengers stopped to look at him, saluted him with respect, shewed him to one another, and kept looking at him till they could see him no longer.

In the capital, every time the king gave out the parole at the palace, and Zieten was among the generals who attended to receive

ceive it, his majesty would embrace him in the kindest manner, and inquire into the state of his health. One day, at Sans-Souci, after the grand manœuvres, he had taken leave of the princes and dismissed the generals, without having discovered that Zieten was hid in the throng; when recollecting himself, he looked about for him, ran after him, embraced him several times over, and seemed quite loath to leave him. During the winter, on his return from the exercise-saloon, he frequently went to Zieten's house to visit him, often entered his chamber by surprise, and would never allow himself to be conducted to the door by him at parting. It was an agreeable spectacle to see Frederick the Great, at seventy years of age, in his carriage covered with snow, paying a visit to his general who was turned of eighty, forgetting the grandeur of his condition, or rather asserting it, at the gate of his subject. The princes of the blood were happy to imitate the monarch's example. The prince of Prussia, since that time, Frederick William II. never failed to visit the general on his birth-day; and prince Henry has often

often come on purpose from Rheinsberg, to spend a whole day with him.

The Prussian generals stood in no need of such examples of an homage which they paid unanimously, not to his birth, nor his rank, nor the favours he enjoyed; but solely to his person. Those expressions of respect which custom has consecrated for the use of children, and which the imprescriptible rights of man seem to refuse to every other relation in life, — the highest military characters did not hesitate to bestow on Zieten: nor could they, at the same time, refrain from pressing to their lips his hand, or the regimentals which he wore, which also became an object of veneration. In this act of humility, the spectator considered only the sentiments which dictated it, the generous minds of those who gave way to it, and the superiority of the man who was the object of it.

Such like attentions one day produced a scene at Zieten's own table that much affected the guests. He had invited a large company of friends,

friends, among whom were several ministers of state and general officers. They all drank to his health; and, contrary to his usual way, he ordered his glass to be filled for the purpose of drinking that of the company; when general de Krusemark, who sat next him, an infirm old man and already on the brink of the grave, sensible that neither he nor Zieten could bear the liquor, chose to sacrifice his own health to preserve that of his friend; and snatching the glass from him, cheerfully drank it off.

Nothing could be more painful to him than to be prevented by the ill state of his health from assisting at the annual manœuvres and reviews. He would sometimes attend without having duly considered his strength, and he was one day carried back from the field, half-dead with the fatigue he had undergone. From the year 1780, he had obtained the king's permission to appear on the first day without the incumbrance of the tiger-skin upon his shoulders and the eagle's wings on his cap, which it was usual on such occasions to wear. The king

king had likewise written him a very gracious letter on this subject.

"My dear general de Zieten.

I shall always see with the same pleasure, a general of your age and distinguished services appear at my reviews, and I approve of your laying aside the tiger-skin, as well as the ornament of your cap. Yet, should the weather prove cold, I must conjure you to consult your health and stay at home. Who ever has, like you, served so long and so gloriously, has an undoubted right to avail himself of the privilege which the Romans allowed their veterans. Pay some attention to this advice, if you wish to oblige your very affectionate king,

Potsdam, May 17th, 1780.

Frederick."

Zieten was upwards of eighty years old, when early one morning he rode out of the gates of the city, at the head of his regiment to attend a special review. The remembrance of this day is still fresh in the minds of those who

who were present, and particularly his own regiment. Scarcely had his majesty perceived the general, than he galloped up to him, alighted from his horse, and expressed both his pleasure and his concern to see him. Zieten who had just gone through his task of duty, who had presented himself and his regiment to the king, and witnessed the condescension of that prince, appeared on his return, a regenerated man. Mounted upon a fine charger, he preceded his corps as if he had still been in the vigour of life; and his officers, his hussars, and himself, seemed equally proud of belonging to one another.

We should ill perform task of an historian, if we pretended to deny, that notwithstanding the regard which the king had for Zieten, and the gratitude which he owed to, and always paid, his services, he did not consider him a perfect adept in the art of war. Yet, impressed as he was with this opinion, he was always careful, not to give him the least occasion to feel the consequences of it. The following anecdote will suffice in support of this.

Freder-

Frederick, it was well-known, was fond of conversing with his generals at table, on the subject of his campaigns. He was one day speaking of Torgaw. Zieten, who according to his late custom, was dosing, awoke at the mention of that name. The king supposing him to be still asleep, enlarged in a loud voice and without the least restraint, upon what he was pleased to call the delays and errors of our general, *, and concluded in these terms; "Zieten was, indeed, on the point of doing a very foolish thing." As he pronounced the words, he cast his eyes upon the sleeper, who, in return, looked him full in the face: he had listened with great attention to what had

* Frederick ever persisted in the same opinion. "M. de Zieten, instead of making an attack, amused himself for a long while with a body of pandours, which he found in his way in the forest of Torgaw; he then cannonaded a considerable time the corps of Lascy, which was posted, as we have already said, behind the ponds. In a word, the disposition was not executed; the king made his attack alone, unassisted by M. de Zieten, and totally unsupported by his cavalry. At length, M. de Zieten being arrived at the place of his destination, began the attack, etc."

Seven Years' War.

had been said, but had not ventured to interrupt a discourse, which admitted of much to be urged in contradiction of it. The king, confused and quite out of countenance, added not a single word, but laid down his napkin, and rose from the table.

We now come to the last period of the life of Zieten. For several years past, his infirmities had increased upon him. His nights grew restless, and he became subject to a feverish complaint which proved extremely troublesome to him, and sometimes threw him into a delirium. His character, however, was still the same, even under the most violent pressure of the disorder. One night, when he was severely attacked by his fever, he imagined there was a fire under the floor, and that he felt his bed burning beneath him. He called his valet, who endeavoured to calm, and undeceive him. His efforts were vain: the sick man persisted in his opinion, and the valet was obliged to call M. de Jurgas to his assistance. Zieten fell into a passion at the sight of his son-in-law: "Do not conceive," said

he, "that I am at all afraid of the fire that is under the bed."

In the daytime he appeared weak only: yet it was easy to perceive his general decay, and particularly that of his sight and hearing; but his intellectual faculties still remained sound, and he grew more than ever fond of the company of his nearest relatives. He felt himself revived by their converse; he acknowledged it, and repeatedly thanked them for their assiduities. In general, he redoubled his kindness to all around him.

Besides the best of wives, he had the good fortune to have about him, for the last six years of his life, a person who rendered him the most essential services, and who was considered by him as the support of his old age. Such merit is of too uncommon a nature among the class of mercenaries, not to induce us to distinguish from the crowd, the man who possessed it. This was M. Wagner, his valet-de-chambre, at present, steward of the royal kitchen. The worthy man was thor-

thoroughly acquainted with the humour and way of life of his master; by day, he would amuse him, at one time, with books of devotion, at another, with subjects of rural economy, at another, with treatises on politics. At night, he usually sat up with him, attended him with unremitting care; he, indeed, scarcely quitted him for an instant, at any time, and cheerfully sacrificed all kind of recreation out of doors for his sake. He possessed the entire confidence of the general, acted not only as his valet, his reader, but likewise as his secretary. As long as his master lived, he refused various establishments that were offered him; and at length, he was appointed, on the recommendation of the late M. de Werder, minister of state, to the confidential post which he has continued to fill in an honourable manner to the present day.

The last letter from the king to Zieten is in answer to one which the general had written him on the return of the new year.

"My dear general de Zieten.

I feel the value of your good wishes, and am truly grateful for them. I wish, in return, that your strength may be renewed and firmly established, and that your health may equal your contentment. The accomplishment of these wishes would afford me the highest degree of satisfaction, and I remain your very affectionate king,

Berlin, January 1st, 1785.

Frederick."

Several circumstances have given rise to a belief that the king had a presentiment of the approaching dissolution of his general, A man, indeed, on the verge of eighty-six, must naturally have been expected to die soon; and that the public, ever fond of the marvellous, should choose to make a miracle of his majesty's apprehensions, is likewise far from having any thing extraordinary in it.

A peculiar incident soon enabled the great Frederick to give his general a last proof of the high esteem he bore him, and of the manner in which he was pleased to recompense true merit.

It

It happened in the course of the winter of 1785. The king had returned to Berlin in a bad state of health. On the 22rd of December, Zieten, in spite of the burden of eighty-six years, went to the palace, at the end of the parade, to pay his sovereign this last tribute of respect, and to have the pleasure of seeing him after six month's absense. The parole was given out, the orders imparted to the generals, and the king had turned towards the princes of the blood, when he perceived Zieten on the other side of the hall, between his son and his two aide-de-camps. Surprised in a very agreeable manner at this unexpected sight, he broke out into an exclamation of joy, and directly making up to him; "What, my good old Zieten! are you there?" said his majesty, "How sorry am I, that you have had the trouble of walking up the staircase. I should have called upon you myself. How have you been of late?" — "Sire, answered Zieten, my health is not amiss, my appetite is good; but my strength! my strength!" — "This account," replied the king, "makes me happy by halves only; but you must be tired; — I shall have

have a chair for you." A chair was quickly brought. Zieten, however, declared that he was not at all fatigued: the king maintained that he was. "Sit down, good father;" continued his majesty, "I will have it so; otherwise I must instantly leave the room; for I cannot allow you to be incommoded under my own roof." The old general obeyed, and Frederick the Great remained standing before him, in the midst of a brilliant circle that had thronged around them. After asking him many questions respecting his hearing, his memory, and the general state of his health, he at length took leave of him in these words; "Adieu, my dear Zieten! (it was his last adieu!) take care not to catch cold: nurse yourself well, and live as long as you can, that I may often have the pleasure of seeing you." After having said this, the king, instead of speaking to the other generals and walking through the saloons as usual, retired abruptly, and shut himself up in his closet.

This interesting scene, equally worthy of Frederick and of Zieten, brought tears into the

the eyes of the hardiest of the spectators. Zieten was himself too much affected to be able to shed any; nor can language describe what he felt on the occasion. The graver of Chodowiecki has preserved this interview in a plate, which, among its other excellencies, is remarkable for the likenesses of the group, and which is well known throughout all Europe.

The sun of Zieten hastened apace to its decline, and the edifice of his bodily frame fell fast into decay. He had now scarcely any desires to animate him: he had drunk out the cup of life, and had fully tasted of its glory and its enjoyments. His favourite wish of living to an advanced age had been granted him: he had run his long career with a conscience void of reproach, and he began to feel the want of repose; he cherished the hope of immortality, and prepared for death, as an event he neither desired nor feared.

He was now in his eighty-sixth year; and on the 25th of January, after having taken a ride

ride in his carriage with Madame de Zieten, he felt himself in such spirits, that he planned an excursion to Wustrau with her, and from thence, to his brother-in-law, who had invited him to stand godfather to his child. He spent the evening at home, and was remarkably good-humoured, conversed gayly with his children, and observed to his youngest daughter, that he hoped soon to see her dressed in a new gown he had just bought her. They all sat down to supper, when, on a sudden, and for the first time in his life, Zieten complained of being unwell. The consternation was general: every possible assistance was administered to him; and, in a little time, he grew better. He then went to-bed, and the family had no apprehensions of a relapse.

The night, which was the last of his life, afforded him but little rest. He was heard to pray aloud, and at several different times. At four in the morning, he called his valet, who on entering the room, saw the image of death upon his master's countenance. He immediately rung for assistance. The dying man

man had not, however, lost his senses; he coughed, and spat; asked if it was blood, and before any assistance came, or his valet could answer his question, Zieten was no more.

The death of Zieten, though inevitable in the natural order of things, filled the whole city with alarm and sorrow. Throngs of people hastened to see his corpse as it lay in state; and among the soldiers of all orders and descriptions, who paid this last tribute of respect to him, there was one, who rushing through the crowd, approached the body, and from the abundance of his heart, addressed it in a speech that was worthy of being preserved, as well as the name of the man who delivered it. This was an old grenadier, who had often fought under the general's banner, and whose enthusiastic affection inspired him with a flow of language, little to be expected from an unlettered common soldier. *

The

* This anecdote renews the remembrance of another. A French soldier at Strasbourg visited the monument of marshal Saxe. He drew his sword, laid it upon the tomb, sheathed it again, and withdrew in silence.

The corpse, attended by young Zieten and captain de Velten, was carried without pomp to Wustrau, and laid in the family vault in the churchyard of that village. A plain stone, bearing a trophy and a bundle of fasces, which allude to his double capacity of officer and commander in chief, covers his remains. His name, his dignities, the day of his birth, that of his decease, and his seventy-three years of service, are engraved thereupon, within a wreath of laurels.

His family have erected a splendid monument to him, in the church, which bears the following inscription.

HE LIVED WITH FREDERICK
IN THE ANNALS OF HISTORY,
ADMIRED AS A HERO,
BELOVED AS A MAN, AND A CHRISTIAN.
HE WAS BESIDES, THE HAPPINESS
OF HIS DISCONSOLATE WIFE AND HIS CHILDREN,
WHO HAVE CONSECRATED
THIS MONUMENT TO HIS MEMORY.

Fre-

Frederick the Great has likewise honoured the memory of Zieten by the following letter to his widow.

"My sentiments, Madam, with regard to your late husband, are too well known to you, to render it necessary that I should tell you how severely I feel his loss, although his advanced age should have prepared me for the shock. To doubt it would imply an incapacity of appretiating merit like his. Of that merit I was truly sensible, and I now bewail it. I take this opportunity of condoling with you and your family on this melancholy event, and hoping that my affliction may tend to alleviate yours, I conclude with assuring you, that on every occasion, I shall continue to be both your and their affectionate king,

Potsdam, January 28th, 1786.

Frederick."

The king survived his general but a few months only. Instead of the usual pension, his majesty had made a present of ten thousand dollars to Madame de Zieten and her chil-

children. The finances of the deceased, which had been considerably disarranged by his liberalities, stood in need of this reparation.

To the regrets of the great Frederick, we must join the remembrances of his august brother. In the year 1790, prince Henry of Prussia erected in the park of Rheinsberg, a pyramid to the memory of his favourite brother, Augustus William, grandfather to the present king. On the four sides of the pyramid were inscribed the names of twenty-six warriors who had been particularly esteemed by him, with a short description of their several merits and exploits. The inauguration of this monument took place in the year 1791; and to render it the more solemn, the prince had collected from the neighbouring garrisons all the troops, from the general down to the common soldier, who had served in the seven years' war. A signal being made, the monument was uncovered; a fine harangue, of the prince's own composition, was pronounced; the heroes paid the tribute of a tear to the memory of the illustrious dead, and celebrated

to-

together the anniversary of this famous war. The front of the pyramid is crowned with a medalion of Augustus William. In the middle are the names of Keith, Schwerin, prince Leopold, prince Ferdinand, Seidlitz, the duke of Bevern, Platen, and that of Zieten with the following eulogy, composed by the prince.

GENERAL DE ZIETEN
ATTAINED
TO A HAPPY AND GLORIOUS OLD AGE;
EVERY TIME HE COMBATTED,
HE TRIUMPHED.
HIS MILITARY GLANCE, JOINED
TO HIS HEROIC VALOUR,
DECIDED THE FATE OF BATTLES;
BUT WHAT DISTINGUISHED HIM
STILL MORE,
WAS HIS INTEGRITY, HIS DISINTERESTEDNESS,
AND HIS CONTEMPT FOR ALL SUCH
AS ENRICHED THEMSELVES AT THE EXPENSE OF
OPPRESSED NATIONS.

Finally, to crown the glory of Zieten, the successor of the great Frederick placed him in the

the military Pantheon by raising a statue to his memory. In perpetuation of the signal services, which during the two preceding reigns, the general had rendered his country, Frederick William II. caused it to be erected in the Wilhelms-Platz, at the end of the Mohren-Strassé. This fine piece of sculpture is worthy of the taste of the king who ordered it, of the hero whom it represents, and of the artist * who executed it.

The statue, which is the subject of the frontispiece to the first volume of these memoirs, is the fifth which ornaments the square. The other four, which were erected during the reign of Frederick the Great, represent Schwerin, Winterfeld, Seidlitz, and Keith. They are all wrought in the finest Carrara marble. That of Zieten, including the pedestal, is fifteen feet and a half in height. The pedestal which is eight feet high, is composed of

* M. Schadow of Berlin, whose chisel would have acquired him a name, even in the age of Praxiteles.

of gray Silesian marble. It is inlaid with four blocks of white marble, which surround it, and are raised in bass-relief. The first represents the tiger-skin which is worn by the officers of the regiment at the grand reviews: the middle of the skin contains the inscription, which is a follows.

JOHN JOACHIM DE ZIETEN,
GENERAL OF CAVALRY,
SERVED FROM MDCCXIV TILL MDCCLXXXVI,
UNDER
FREDERICK WILLIAM I. AND FREDERICK II.
THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED TO HIM
BY
FREDERICK WILLIAM II.

The three other sides compose the frontispiece of this volume. They are descriptive of three memorable events in the military life of Zieten, taken from the different wars in which Frederick engaged for the purpose of conquering Silesia, and of securing that splendid and important acquisition. On the bass-relief on the left, is represented the battle of Rothschloss,

schloss, an account of which may be found in volume I, page 88.

The artist has made choice of the moment in which Zieten, at that time lieutenant-colonel, having driven the enemy against a water-mill, discovered their general, and was on the point of taking him prisoner. Baronay springs from his horse, and by the assistance of a grenadier, crosses the stream upon a plank. At the sight of the precipice which borders it, Zieten cheeks his steed, and threatens the fugitive with his drawn sabre. The mill on the left, Baronay's charger without its rider, the trumpeter in the middle, who sounds the alarm behind Zieten, and a hussar on the fore-ground, who turns at the noise, fill up the rest of the space. Over the bass-relief is read the following inscription.

ZIETEN AND HIS FORMER MASTER, BARONAY.

Rothschloss, July 22nd, 1741.

The second, which is on the back of the monument, represents the surprise of the Saxons at Hennersdorf. See volume I. page 209.

Zie-

Zieten appears in this group as a general: he is giving his orders, and a trumpeter attends near him for the purpose of receiving them. One of his hussars fires at the kettle-drummer of Obyern's regiment. The horse is fallen, and the bridle cut. In the back-ground the Prussian hussars are charging the hostile cavalry. The cottages indicate the village. The inscription runs as follows.

ZIETEN TAKES FOUR SAXON REGIMENTS.
Catholic-Hennersdorf, November 23rd, 1745.

The last bass-relief represents the battle of Torgaw. See volume II. page 206.

Zieten on horseback, is looking towards the heights of Siptitz, which rise on his left. Every thing announces the commander in chief. Behind him, is an aide-de-camp belonging to the regiment of Kuhnheim, one of the first at the attack. Before him, appears a serjeant of the gendarmes, holding his hat in his hand, and in the act of making his report. An aide-de-camp sets off at full speed with the general's orders to the heights, where the Prus-

sians are seen mounting to the assault. At the same instant arrives a Prussian grenadier, bearing an Austrian flag, in token of victory. All is effort and activity; but it appears to be exerted late. Zieten's horse seems worn out with fatigue, and that which carries the officer with the general's orders, gallops with apparent difficulty. The inscription is as follows.

ZIETEN CARRIES THE HEIGHTS OF SIPTITZ.

Torgaw, November 3rd, 1760.

Though several years have elapsed since its erection, this fine monument still continues to excite the curiosity of the inhabitants of the capital, as well as the strangers who visit that place; and this short account of it, it is hoped, will not prove unacceptable to our readers.

FINIS.

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